

OLIVER CROMWELL

Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England. Scotland and Ireland. &c. Token from an Original picture of S. Coopers in the possession of M. Frankland



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LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector

OFTHE

Common - Wealth

OF

England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Impartially collected from the best HISTORIANS, and several original MANUSCRIPTS.

The THIRD EDITION with ADDITIONS.

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THE

PREFACE.



H E following sheets contain the history of a person of a very singular and uncommon character, who made the greatest figure during our late troubles, and the latter

part of whose life was fill'd with a variety of great actions both in war and policy; who, from a private gentleman of no considerable fortune, rais'd himself to the highest pitch of power and grandeur, obtain'd the supreme authority and command over three nations, and over-aw'd

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the most powerful princes and states about us; a man whose good fortune, in most of his great undertakings, accompany'd him to the last; and who, after a continued feries of fuccesses, died in the peaceable posfession of the sovereign power, was interr'd among our kings with a regal pomp, and had his death condoled by the greatest princes and states of Christendom, in solemn embassies to his son. It being a natural curiofity in men, to know the characters of fuch as have render'd themselves famous by uncommon exploits, I judg'd a regular and just account of the actions, proceedings, and management of this extraordinary man, could not be unacceptable.

AMONG the many who have hitherto wrote of him, very few have done it with temper; fome commending, others condemning him, and both out of measure: I have therefore, in compiling the following LIFF, taken care to avoid both extremes; and declining either panegyric or fatire, have faithfully related matters of fact, and left the reader to judge of them as he shall think fit. I have purposely avoided all reproachful terms and invidious reflections, which discover only the anger and malice of an author, whose business is only to describe plain matters of fact without prejudice or partiality. This I have fincerely endeavour'd to do, having as freely fet down those actions of CROMWELL which

carry

carry an ill aspect with them, as I have those which appear with a better face, and are by many of his adversaries acknowledg'd to be praise-worthy. In short, I have neither lessen'd his bad, nor multiply'd his good deeds; but have had a strict regard to truth, as far as I was by good authorities convinc'd of it.

THE Lives that have been hitherto written of this great man, are manifestly faulty in many respects. The foreign ones are rather romances than bistories, being fill'd with fuch intrigues, adventures, and actions, as our English writers speak not one word of. As to those in our own language, they are either fuch as discover the most fervile flattery or bitterest rancor, or are wrote in an odd fort of ludicrous stile; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting feveral very remarkable transactions and occurrences, and very imperfectly describing many others. All these faults are carefully avoided in the following history, wherein I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as possible, and to omit no material fact or curious ftory I could find supported by any good authorities. Where our own and foreign writers disagree in relating the circumstances of a fact, I have follow'd the former, supposing them to be the best inform'd; and when any of our own historians differ, I usually take notice of such difference, that

that nothing may be related with a greater appearance of certainty, than in proportion to the real evidence it has to support it. I have perus'd and consulted the Lives above mentioned, that nothing that is valuable in them might be pass'd by; tho' I found them so very faulty in one respect or other, that I usually chose to take the stories which they have, from some other authors of more approved credit, rather than from them: So that this is a work entirely new.

I HAVE been particularly very large upon that nice period, from the conclusion of the civil war to the king's death; and have given as particular and exact an account as possible of the differences between the parliament and army, of the management between the king and parliament, and between the king and the army, of the diffensions between the agitators and superior officers about treating with the king, and how Cromwell was induc'd to desert the king's interest, and reconcile himself again to the agitators: all which at last brought on the king's death.

As to the method I have taken in compoling the following Life, it is divided into three parts, and each part into several distinct chapters. The first part contains the actions of this great man during the life of king Charles I. to the death of that

that unfortunate monarch: The second describes his actions under the Common-wealth government, from the king's death to the dissolution of the long parliament: And the third gives an account of his management and behaviour in his Protectorship. from the dissolution of the said parliament to his death. To all this, as a conclusion, I have added his character, his magnificent lying in state, and pompous funeral; as alfo an Appendix, containing a more perfect account of his pedigree, with some account of his children, and of the state of affairs to the restoration of king CHARLES II. Strict regard has been had to the chronology from one period to another. Bu this method I have confulted the reader's ease, as well as his pleasure and profit in the history it felf.

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ERRATUM.

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THE

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OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART I.

Containing an account of his life and actions, to the time of the KING's death.

CHAP. I.

Some account of him till the breaking out of the WAR between the KING and PARLIAMENT.



LIVER CROMWELL was His birth born at Huntingdon, April 25, and de1599. being descended of an ancient and considerable family in that county. His father was Mr. Ro-

Henry Cromwell, and brother of Sir Oliver, who at his house at Hinchingbrook, made the noblest

entertainment for king James I. at his accession to the English crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private subject. * This Sir Oliver had a very great estate; but our Oliver's father being a younger brother, had not above 300 l. per Annum.

His education and manner of life.

NOTWITHSTANDING the lowness of his fortune, he took great care of his fon's education, fending him, when grown up, to the university of Cambridge, where he was a student in Sidney college, though 'twas observ'd, that he was not fo much inclin'd to speculation as to action. Whilst he was here his father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of life, addicting himself to such follies as young persons are too apt to fall into; so that his mother was advis'd to fend him up to Lincoln's-Inn, where he betook himself to the study of the law: But not liking that sedentary employment, he soon return'd again into the country, and follow'd his former vicious courses, to the wasting of a great part of his paternal estate. At length he became greatly reform'd, and grew mighty fober and religious; and having an estate of four or five hundred pounds per annum, left him by Sir Robert Steward, his uncle by his mother's fide, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Boucher.

He falls in with the Puri-

AFTER his reformation, he adher'd for some time to the church of England, very devoutly attending on the publick service; but at length, falling into the Hands of some Puritans, he became a zealous friend to that party, frequently entertaining their ministers at his house. At this time he is said to have been so scrupulously just, that having some years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. Calton at play, he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got it by in-

direct

See a fuller account of his pedigree in the Appendix.

direct and unlawful means, and that it would be

a fin in him to keep it any longer.

WE hear nothing of his acting in a publick 1628. capacity till the year 1628, when he was one of Is one of the committee of religion in king Charles's third the committee of parliament, and gave information to the house, religion that the bishop of Winchester countenanced some in king who preach'd downright popery, and that 'twas Charles's by his means that Dr. Manwaring was promoted third parto a rich living; concluding, If these be steps to church preferment, what are we shortly to expect?

THE power of archbishop Land growing grie- 1637. vous to the Puritans, he being very severe in his His deproceedings against them, many of them began sign of reto think of taking refuge in foreign plantations; moving to Newand fuch numbers of families actually transport- England ed themselves, that the government at length preventtaking umbrage at it, publish'd a proclamation, ed. to restrain the disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America, without a royal licence. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, together with Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Hasterigg, Mr. John Hampden, and feveral other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themselves, and were actually embark'd for that purpose; but were prevented by the said proclamation, and the following order of council, "That the lord treasurer of England should take " speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight " ships now in the river of Thames prepar'd to " go for New-England, and should likewise give " order for the putting on land all the paffengers " and provisions therein, intended for the voy-And thus Mr. Cromwell's voyage to New-England was prevented.

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ABOUT the year 1638, the king and some lords became undertakers for draining the fen- He oppolands in Lincolnshire, and the isle of Ely. This fes the draining project of the fens

project was oppos'd by feveral, chiefly by the town of Cambridge; and Mr. Oliver Cromwell boldly headed this party against the undertakers for draining the fens. By this means, and by 1640. promising his farther assistance in their behalf, he Is chosen got to be elected burgess for the town of Camto ferve in the Long bridge in 1640, to serve in that parliament which Parliawas afterwards called the Long Parliament.

ment. Concerns the grie vances of religion.

In this parliament he foon shew'd himself a himself in zealous and forward opposer of grievances in religion; and 'tis faid, that one time when Sir Thomas Chichely and Mr. Warwick were talking with him in the house about the affair of religion, he faid, I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have, tho' I cannot tell what I wou'd.

1641. Promotes remou-Arance.

HE was a great promoter of the commons grand remonstrance of all the grievances in the nation the grand from the king's accession to that time, which was presented to his majesty at his return from Scotland, foon after the Irish rebellion and maffacre, in which above 150000 Protestants, men, women, and children, were barbaroufly murder'd by the Papists. A day having been appointed for retaking this remonstrance into the consideration of the house, upon its not being call'd for till noon that day, 'twas urg'd and confented to, that it should be deferr'd till the next morning; upon which occasion Mr. Cromwell ask'd the lord Falkland, Why he was for deferring it, fince that day wou'd soon have determin'd it? Who answer'd, There would not be time enough, for sure it would take some debate; to which the other reply'd, A very forry one, concluding it would be opposed but by a few: But the debate being enter'd upon about nine the next morning, continu'd all that day and the night following till three in the morning, when it was carried for the remonstrance by nine voices only. And when the house broke up, the lord

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His difcourfe with the lord Falkland upon it.

ford Falkland ask'd Mr. Cromwell, Whether there had been a debate? Who answer'd, He wou'd take bis word another time; and whispering him in the ear, folemnly affur'd him, That if the remonstrance had not pass'd, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have feen England more; and he knew many other honest men of the same re-Solution.

THE difference between the king and parliament (occasion'd by evil counsels on one hand, The civil and continual jealousies and fears on the other) war was now grown to such a height, that soon after breaks out. the presenting this remonstrance, it broke out into an open war between them; of which, fo far as concerns our present purpose, we shall give fome account in the following chapters.

1642.

CHAP. II.

From the breaking out of the civil war, to the battle of Marston-Moor.

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T the breaking out of the war, Mr. Crom- Cromwell well was commission'd by the parliament to made capbe captain of a troop of horse, which he speedi-troop of ly rais'd in his own country. In lifting them, horfe. he had regard to fuch only as he thought to bs frout and resolute; and having compleated hi troop he us'd this art to prove them: Upon their His ffratafirst muster, near some of the king's garrisons, gem to try he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuscade, their rage. who with a trumpet founding a charge, made furiously towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, prefently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately cashier'd, and mounted their horses with such as were more bold and couragious.

THE

He fecurcs Cambridge

highsheriff of Hertford-Dire.

THE university of Cambridge being not far off him, he very feafonably fecured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the College-plate was just upon the point of being convey'd to the Takes the king at Oxford. And so active and industrious was he, that when Sir Thomas Connesby, hightheriff of Hertfordsbire, was going to proclaim the earl of Effex, the parliament's general, and all his adherents traytors, at St. Alban's on a marketday, he rushed unawares into the town with a party of horse, furpriz'd the sheriff and his assiftants, and fent them prisoners to London, to the no small satisfaction of the parliament, who gave him the thanks of the house, from this time looking upon him as a very promifing person for their fervice.

1643. He is made a colonel. and is very active for the parliament.

In the year 1643, he was advanc'd to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management rais'd a regiment of a thousand horse, with which he rang'd about, and with great industry obstructed many levies for the king in Cambridgesbire, Effex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and particularly he defeated the project of a counter-affociation for the king's service, contriv'd by Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Barker, and other gentlemen, at the town of Lestoff in Suffolk, with great secrecy and celerity entering the town and furprizing them all. Here he also gain'd good store of ammunition, saddles, pistols, powder, shot, and several engines for war, sufficient to have serv'd a confiderable force. And he furpriz'd those gentlemen in the very nick of time; for as many more, who were before lifted, defign'd the very next day to have met at the same place, and if their defign had fucceeded the whole country had been in great danger of being loft. So that this action of Cromwell's was a very seasonable service to the parliament, and prov'd a great discouragement to all the king's party both in Suffolk and

Norfolk.

. AFTER this, he was fent to guard some ammu- Takes in nition from Warwick to Gloucester, and by the Hilsdenway took in Hilsden-house, and in it Sir Alexan-house. der Denton, the owner, colonel Smith, many inferior officers, about a hundred horfe, thirteen barrels of powder, and about an hundred and fifty common foldiers, befides forty flain; then he gave an alarm to Oxford, and fo went on to Glocefter.

HE was now made lieutenant-general to the Made earl of Manchester; and having rais'd a greater lieutenant force of fuch as came freely in to him, he march- general to ed towards Lincolnshire, with a resolution to as- of Manfift those forces which lay about Newark, one of chefter, the strongest garrisons then held for the king. and In his march thro' Huntingdonshire he disarm'd marches towards many who were ill-affected to the parliament. He Newark. was now above two thousand strong, and receiv'd an addition of horse from captain Hotham. his first approach before Newark he perform'd a good piece of service: for captain Wray with his Lincolnshire horse too rashly quartering near the Town, was in the night fet upon by the garrison, which made a great fally, and furrounded and took all his men. But the alarm coming to Cromwell, he advanc'd, and at ten a clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, rescu'd captain Wray's troop, and took three of theirs, with the flaughter of many of them. After this, fetting down before the town, he took many men and colours at feveral times; and foon after meeting with twenty four troops of the king's horse and dragoons near Grantham, he encounter'd them Routs the with fuch fury and resolution, that, tho' he had king's but seven troops with him, he entirely routed roops them.

Grantbam.

Relieves Gainsborough.

THE earl of Newcastle, being inform'd that the lord Willoughby of Parham had got possession of the town of Gainsborough for the parliament, fent his brother colonel Cavendift, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horse and dragoons to fummon it, himself marching after with the foot. Upon this Cromwell refolv'd to attempt the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horse and dragoons march'd thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithstanding which disadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after fome dispute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among them, lieutenantgeneral Cavendish.

His own account of the defeat of general Cavendiff,

OF this action Cromwell himself gives the following account, in a letter dated July 31. " I march'd after the taking of Burleigh to Gran-" tham, and was join'd by the Lincolneers at " North Scarles, ten miles from Gainsborough. About a mile and a half from the town, we " met the forlorn of the enemy, who drove a " troop of our dragoons back to their main body. We advanc'd and came to the bottom of a " steep hill, which we could not well get up but by some tracts; and the body of the encmy endeavour'd to hinder us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the top of it. This was done by the Lincolneers, who had the van-guard. great body of the enemy's horse fac'd us there, " at about a musquet-shot distance, and a good " reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. "We did what we could to put our men in good " order, and the enemy advanced towards us to ff prevent it, and take us at a disadvantage; but in fuch order as we were, we charged their great

e great body, I having the right wing. We came up horse to horse, where we disputed a " pretty while with our fwords and piftols, all keeping close order, so that one could not " break the other. At last the enemy shrinking " a little, our men soon perceiv'd it, pressed in " upon them, and routed their whole body, fome " flying on one fide, and others on the other, of "the enemy's reserve. Our men pursued them " with good execution about fix miles. I per-" ceiving the referve still unbroken, kept back er my major Whalley from the pursuit, and with " my own troop, and two troops more of my " regiment, we got into a body. In this referve was general Cavendish, who one while faced " me, another while fac'd four of the Lincoln " troops, which were all of ours that engaged " the referve, the rest being in pursuit of those who fled. General Cavendish charg'd the Lincolneers and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which did " so astonish him, that he gave over the chase, " and would have deliver'd himself from me; " but I preffing on, forc'd him down a hill, and " below it drove the general and some of his " foldiers into a quagmire, where my captain-" lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his " fhort ribs. The rest of the body was wholly " routed, not one man staying on the place." HERE Whitelock fays, "This was the begin-" ning of his (viz. Cromwell's) great fortunes, " and now he began to appear to the world. He " had a brave regiment of horse of his country-" men, most of them freeholders, and freeholders fons, who upon matter of conscience en-" gag'd in this quarrel under Cromwell. And "thus being well armed within, by the fatisfacti-" on of their own consciences, and without, by " good

" good iron arms, they would as one man, stand " firmly, and charge desperately." Cromwell's policy was very much feen in making choice of fuch men as these, who had a persuasion they were engag'd in the cause of God, to serve under

him against the king's party.

Thus was Gainsborough reliev'd; but the victors had but a fhort time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, march'd against them; whereupon they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whilft they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, Cromwell marched the next day to Boston, to join the earl of Manchefter, who with his new rais'd forces, had very feafonably reduced Lynn under the power of the

parliament.

To prevent any farther addition to Manchefter's forces, the earl of Newcastle advanc'd with his army, and detach'd a strong party of horse and dragoons towards Boston, appearing, by their standards, to be eighty seven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderson an old soldier, who understanding that Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horse and dragoons, made hafte to engage him, before the earl of Manchefler, with the foot, could march up; as accordingly it happen'd at a place call'd Windsby-field, Is in great near Horn-caftle. In the first shock Cromwell's horse was killed and fell upon him, and as he rose, he was again knock'd down by the gentleman that charg'd him, suppos'd to be Sir Ingram Hopton, though others fay captain Portington, who afterwards plainly told him, That he aimed at his nose when he hit his horse on the head. He never was in more danger in his life; but with dif-

Marches to Bofton.

danger near Horn-Caftle.

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difficulty he got remounted on a poor horse in a 1644? foldier's hand, and charg'd the enemy with great resolution. The encounter was very sharp, but lasted not an hour before the royalists were entirely routed by Manchester's troops, about 1500 of them being kill'd, amongst whom was the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other perfons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament side. The routed forces were pursued by the parliamentarians almost as far as Lincoln; in which pursuit several of them were killed and taken prisoners, and many horses and arms taken. In pursuance of this victory, the earl of Manchefter marched directly to Lincoln, fat down before it, and summon'd it, and afterwards took it by storm, with very inconsiderable loss.

AFTER this, the earl with his lieutenant-ge- Advances neral Cromwell, advanced to re-inforce the fiege to the of York, which was then beleagured by the Scotch fiege of general Leven, and the lord Fairfax. Soon after, prince Rupert arriving with about eighteen thoufand men, caused the besiegers to raise the siege; who joining their forces, refolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occasion: But a little to refresh themselves, and furnish themselves with provisions which they wanted,

they marched towards Tadcaster.

THE prince elevated with fuccess, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not defeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of those that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at Marston-Moor, forc'd them to a battle; in which the left wing of his army, commanded by himself, charging the parliament's right, fo totally routed them, that the three parliament generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood-castle. Here the prince pursued his enemies

battle of Marfton-Moor.

mies too far, which loft him the day. The three generals being thus beaten out of the field, the ho-Gains the nour of the day fell to Cromwell; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by him, engag'd the prince's right, commanded by the earl of Newcastle, who had gain'd an advantageous piece of ground upon Marston-Moor, and caused a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain Walton, Cromwell's fifter's fon, was wounded by a shot in the knee: Hereupon Cromwell order'd two field-pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were fet upon by the foot of the prince's right wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both fides feconding their foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only stood facing one another. The horse on each side fought with the utmost bravery and courage; for having discharg'd their pistols, and flung them at each others heads, they fell to it with their swords; but after a very obstinate dispute, the victory was obtain'd by Cromwell's brigade, prince Rupert's right wing being totally routed and flying, and the parliament's horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the left wing of the prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the referves of Cromwell's brigade.

OTHER accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in ascribing to Cromwell the glory of the action. Some fay he was wounded in the right arm at the first charge, and went off to have it dreffed; and returning to his post, found the army in that diforder as is above related. Any other

man,

man, fays F. Orleans, would have run with the 1644. stream, and followed such examples, as he need not blush at, to seek his safety by flight. Cromwell rather chose to shew what good sense could do, when seconded by valour. He presently perceiv'd that the conquerors were in as much confusion as the conquered, those who pursued obferving no more order than those that fled; but that there were some brigades of his army that flood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no scruple to put himself at their head, and charging with these fresh troops, whom his own prowefs inspired with new courage, he so vigoroufly attacked the enemy, whom victory had made careless of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn changed the scene at once, and entirely broke them.

Of the king's forces above four thousand were flain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners; among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major general Tilyard, with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell also into the parliamentarians hands; the prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Of the parliamentarians not above three hundred were flain. This famous battle was fought on the second day of July. Cromwell was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gain'd the name of Ironsides from the impenetrable strength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Prince Rupert and his confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themselves, one reproaching the other for this miscarriage; whereupon the earl of Newcastle, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The fiege of York was

now

now renew'd, which city despairing of fresh succours, was foon furrender'd to the parliament by Sir Thomas Glembam, who had been left fole governor of it.

III. CHAP.

From the battle of Marston-Moor to the battle of Naseby.

Earl of Scotch Commiffioners jealous of Cromwell.

ROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, some admiring, and others envying his great success, and dreading his afpiring temper and enterprizing genius. The lord Effex, and general Effex and the Scotch commissioners were particularly jealous of him, so that they were once in consultation, together with Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, how to get rid of him, and fent to ferjeant Maynard and Whitelock about it; who being come, the earl of Effex told them, that he had sent for them to have their advice and counsel upon a matter of great importance to both kingdoms; whereupon, at his defire, the chancellor of Scotland spake to them, in the Scotch dialect, as follows:

Chancellor Lowden's fpeech against him.

Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can affure you of the great opinion, both my brethren and self have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have defir'd this meeting with you: And fince it is his excellency's pleasure, that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilk your counfel is desir'd, I shall obey his command, and briefly recite the business to you.

You ken vary weele, that lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours; and fince the advance of our army into England, he has used all under-hand

and

and cunning means to tak off from our bonour, and 1644. merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfy'd of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.

It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom we foresee will be no small impediment to us in the gude

design we have undertaken.

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He not only is no friend to us and the government of our church, but he is also no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cause to love and bonour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole bufiness; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken

for prevention of this mischief.

You ken vary weele the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word incendiary to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not fick an incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved fick an incendiary, that we may clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state, to the publick damage; and he is tanquam publicus hostis patriæ. Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we desire your judgments in these points.

To this Mr. Whitelock answer'd, "That the see sense of the word incendiary, was the same here

as in Scotland; but whether lieutenant-general " Cromwell be such an incendiary must be prov'd, " either by his words or actions: That he look'd " upon him to be a gentleman of quick and fub-" tile parts, and who had a great interest in both " houses of parliament, and that it would be " needful to collect fuch particular passages concerning him, as might be fufficient to prove a him an incendiary, before they could expect " the parliament should proceed against him." Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, gave an account of some particular passages and words of Cromwell's, and faid, that he had not that interest in the parliament as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the Scotch commissioners were not fo ready to join with them in it, and fo the lieutenant-general escap'd.

CROMWELL was now also very much dreaded by the king's party. His majesty being at Oxford, was willing to have the particular advice of that known statesman archbishop Williams; and so wrote to him at Aberconway in Wales to come to him. The archbishop accordingly waiting on the king, advis'd him by all means to come to an agreement with the parliament; for fince the Scots were come into England in such numerous armies, and the English of the parliament's party, in these two last years, had acquir'd a military knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the king long to refift their forces. But above all, he warned him to have a care of Cromwell, declaring him to be the most dangerous enemy the king had; and therefore humbly moved, that either he wou'd win him over to his fide by promifes of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem, and cut him short. This is said to have made such

Archbp.
Williams
warns the
king of
him.

an impression on the king, that he was heard 1644. to fay, I would some would do me the good ser-

vice to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead.

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ABOUT four months after the fight at Marfon-moor, happen'd the fecond battle of Newbury, where Cromwell is faid to have endanger'd the king's person, had not the earl of Cleveland interpos'd, and bore off the pursuit. This battle Difference was the occasion of an irreconcilable breach be-between tween him and the earl of Manchester. Crom-him and well accus'd the earl of cowardly betraying the of Manparliament, for that he might very easily have chefter. defeated the king's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have fuffer'd him with his own brigade to have charg'd them in their retreat; but that the earl obstinately oppos'd all advice and importunity, giving no other reason, than That if he did overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army should be overthrown at that nice junsture, they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law. This last expression was heinously taken by the parliament, as if the earl believ'd the law was against them, after they had so often declar'd, that the law was on their side. The earl ac-" knowledg'd, that he had in effect faid, That they would be treated as traytors if their army was defeated, when he dislik'd the lieutenant general's advice, in exposing the army to an unseasonable hazard." And then recrimipating upon, his adverfary, said, " that at another time, Cromwell freely discoursing with him of the state of the kingdom, and propofing an expedient, the earl answer'd, that the parliament would never approve it; to which Cromwell immediately reply'd, My lord, if you will stick firm to bonest men, you will find

" an Army at your command, that will give the " law to king and parliament: which discourse, " he faid, made a great impression upon him; " and finding him a man of very deep defigns, " he was the more careful to preserve an army, " which he believ'd still faithful to the parlia-" ment." These matters were never thoroughly examin'd, tho' the animofities encreased, and the parties on both fides openly appear'd against each other, to the dividing of the city, as well

as of the parliament.

A MIGHTY party in the parliament began now to be diffatisfy'd with their old generals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a peace with the king, and too great favourers of the Presbyterian party. Hereupon they are for having the army new modell'd; and that their old friends might be the more civilly dismissed from their military posts, they endeavour to procure an ordinance, for incapacitating all members of parliament for fuch Cromwell was a great promoter of this defign, and after fome had led the way, made a speech in the house for that purpose, declaring,

His parliament for the felfdenying

That there were many things upon which he speech in " never reslected besore, yet upon reconsiderati-" on, he could not but own that all was very " true; and till there was a perfect reformation " in those particulars recommended to them, noordinance. " thing they took in hand would prosper: That " the parliament had done wifely in the beginor ning of the war, to engage many of their mem-" bers in the most dangerous parts of it, that " the nation might fee they defign'd not to em-" bark others in perils, whilft themselves sat se-" curely out of gun-shot, but would march with " them where the danger most threaten'd; and " those honourable persons, who had thus ex-" posed themselves, had merited so much of " their

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their country, that their memories would be 1644. " held in perpetual veneration; and whatever " should be well done after them, would be im-" puted to their example. But now God had " io bleffed their army, that there had grown up " with it many excellent officers, who were fit-" ter for much greater charges than they now " enjoy'd; therefore he defir'd them not to be " terrify'd with an imagination, that they should " want able men to fill the greatest vacancy; for " befides that it was not good to put fo much " trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a " cause as this depended upon any one man, so " he affur'd them, that they had officers in their " army, who were fit to be generals in any en-" terprize in Christendom." He added, " thought nothing so necessary as to vindicate " the parliament from partiality towards their " own members; and proffered to lay down his " own commission in the army, and defir'd, that " an ordinance might be prepar'd, to make it " unlawful for any member of either house to " hold any office in the army, or any place in the " flate;" and so concluded with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions crept into the army, and freely told them, "That till the " whole army were new modell'd, and brought " under stricter discipline, they must not expect any " remarkable fuccess in any undertaking." In conclusion, a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from the fore-mention'd trufts; which took up much time, and was long debated, but in the end pass'd, and was call'd the self-denying ordinance. He joins

Some time before, Cromwell had orders from with Walthe house to march with all speed into the west, ler, and writes to to join with Sir William Waller; which he ac-the parcordingly liament.

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cordingly did, and being join'd, they beat up Goring's quarters, who thereupon fled to Exeter. It feems there had been some behaviour in Cromwell's regiment, that gave offence to the parliament; for he now fent a letter to the house, informing them, " That fince his coming to his regi-" ment, their carriage had been obedient, respective, " and valiant; a good testimony whereof they gave " in the late defeat of Long's regiment: That " they were forry for their former mutinous car-" riage, and defir'd him to fend their most hum-" ble petition to both houses, That they might a-" gain be receiv'd into their favour, and their " former offence fully pardon'd; promising a vali-" ant testimony of their future service: " Which petition was well accepted by the parliament. After this, he march'd to Cerne in Dorsetshire, where he was join'd by the colonels Holborn and Popham. The enemy coming within three miles of them undiscover'd, Cromwell drew into the champion there, with defign to fight them, tho' fuperior to him in number; which they perceiving, drew off; and Cromwell was farther re-inforced by the regiments of Norton and Cook, &c.

The army new modell'd.

Upon the passing of the self-denying ordinance, the army, which had been much diminish'd by sickness and a late deseat in the west, was ordered to be recruited to one and twenty thousand men, namely, sourteen thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one thousand dragoons; and six Thomas Fairfax was commission'd general. They who were removed from their commands in the army by this ordinance, were the earl of Essex the earl of Manchester, the earl of Denbigh, the earl of Warwick, Sir William Waller, lord Grao of Groby, major-general Massy, &c. Cromwel was likewise to have lost his command, and cam to Windsor to take leave of the new general; but

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fuch interest had been made in the committee of 1645. both kingdoms at Westminster, or they were so fensible of his rare talent for war, that they had fent orders to general Fairfax to detach a party of horse to lie between Oxford and Worcester, for intercepting the correspondence between the king and prince Rupert, and particularly recommended lieutenant-general Cromwell for that service; who went away with a good party of horse and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the king's Cromwell's horse under the earl of Northampton and Goring, success at at Islip-bridge, kill'd several, and took five hun-bridge. dred horse, and two hundred prisoners, whereof feveral were officers and persons of quality, as also the queen's standard, besides many other trophies of honour.

HE pursued the routed remnant to Bletchington- He takes house, where colonel Windebank commanded; Bletchingwho being summon'd by victorious Cromwell, ton-house. and perfuaded by his beautiful young bride and the ladies that came to visit her, surrender'd the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was shot to death at Oxford by sentence of a

council of war.

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ABOUT the same time also, Cromwell forc'd His far-Sir William Vaughan and lieutenant-colonel Lit- ther fuctleton, with three hundred and fifty men, into cess. Bampton-Bush, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men prisoners, with their arms; and fent colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horse, three colonels, and forty common foldiers prisoners, with their arms. Being afterwards re-inforc'd by about five hundred foot from colonel Brown's garrison at Abington, Cromwell attempted the re- He is reducing of Faringdon-house, and stormed it; but puls'd at it was so gallantly defended by Sir George Liste, Faringdon-that he was forc'd to draw off, having lost fifty house.

1645.

of his men; and in his retreat he was attack'd by a party of lieutenant Goring's horse, lately come from the siege of Taunton, who got from him three colours, and took major Bethel prisoner.

IT was now order'd by both houses, that lieutenant-general Cromwell should be dispens'd with for his personal attendance in the house, and continue his service and command in the army, for forty days longer, notwithstanding the late ordinance. This, says Whitelock, was much spoken against by Esex's party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue whom they pleas'd, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former

self-denying pretences.

THE lord-general Fairfax began his march in order to relieve Taunton. But the committee of both kingdoms, understanding that prince Rupert was advancing towards Oxford, order'd him to stop his march, and to send only a party of about three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse to Taunton, whilst he with the rest of his army march'd back to join Cromwell and Brown, that they might attend the king's motions with their The king being join'd by prince united forces. Rupert, march'd into Worcestersbire, and design'd to relieve Chefter, which had been a great while besieg'd by the parliament's forces under Sir William Brereton; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of Chefter, rais'd the fiege, and return'd into Lancashire. Upon this, the king diverted his course towards Leicester, and coming before the place, took it by storm.

In the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms, that general Fairfax should invest Oxford, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near Oxford and

Is join'd by Fairfax.

laid

laid fiege to it, having his own quarters at Marfton, Cromwell at Wileham, and Brown at Wolvercott. After fifteen days spent without action, the parliament being startled at the loss of Leicester, sent express orders to Fairfax to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on

the ninth of June.

THE king was marching from Leicester with defign to relieve Oxford; but hearing the fiege was rais'd, he returned towards Northampton, caufing great terror to the affociated parts. Cromwell, before the breaking up of the fiege, had been called from thence to the ifle of Ely, to support the affociation, and was shortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: But upon a resolution of the council of Is made war, the general wrote to them, defiring them lieuteto dispense with Cromwell's absence from the house, nant-general of and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horse. the horse, The parliament being fensible of his great useful- notwithness in the field, readily comply'd with this re- standing quest, and accordingly commission'd him lieute- the selfnant-general of horse to the whole army. Here-denying upon Cromwell being recruited with fix hundred nance. horse and dragoons, came out of the affociated parts, and join'd with Fairfax and his main army at Gilsborough. Whitelock fays, he now began to increase in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great even to the envy of many.

THE king having tarried a little at Borough-Hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and defign'd to march to Pomfret, thinking if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he should fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being fent out with a flying party of horse, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quarter'd in Naseby town, and took many prisoners, some of prince Rupert's life-guard,

and

1645.

and Langdale's brigade; which gave fuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at mid-night left his own quarters, and for fecurity haften'd to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he funimon'd a council of war, in which it was refolv'd (chiefly through the prince's eagerness, old commanders being much against it) to give the enemy battle; and fince Fairfax had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him but feek him out. Accordingly being come near Naseby, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, fac'd each other. Prince Rupert and prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself the main body; the earl of Lindsey and Facob lord Aftley, the right hand referve, and the lord Bard and Sir George Lifle, the left reserve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who fought floutly, tho' forely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-west fide of Nafeby, above a mile broad; which space of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

The battle of Naseby. ALL things being dispos'd, on June 14, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royalists word being God and queen Mary, and the others, God with us. Prince Rupert gave the first charge, and engag'd the parliament's left wing with great resolution. Ireton made gallant resistance, but was forced at last to give ground, his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken prisoner, till upon

upon the turn of the battle he regain'd his liber- 1645. tv. The prince chas'd the enemy almost to Naseby town, and in his return summon'd the train, and vifited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of Marston-Moor, his long stay so far from the main body was no

fmall prejudice to the king's army.

FOR Cromwell in the mean time charg'd furi- And his oully on the king's left wing, and that with good fuccels fuccess, forcing them from the body, and prose-there. cuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their referve: After which, joining with Fairfax, he charg'd the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's and got possession of their ordnance, and thought themselves fure of the victory; but being now in confusion, and having no horse to support them, they were easily overborn by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by prince Rupert, return'd from his fatal fucces; but the horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy: Upon which the lord Clarendon fays, That this difference Good difwas observ'd all along in the discipline of the king's cipline of troops, and of those under Fairfax and Cromwell the troops under him (it having never been remarkable under Effex or and Fair-Waller, but only under them) That though the fax. king's troops prevail'd in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rally'd themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a fecond charge again the same day; which was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edge-Hill; whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevail'd, or tho' they were beaten and routed, presently rally'd again, and stood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the place;

fo that they were forced at last to quit the field. leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purfued them within two miles of Leicefler; and the king finding the pursuit so hot, fled from thence to Ashby-de-la-zouch, and then to Litchfield, and so for a safer retreat into Wales.

Victory at Nafeby owing to his valour.

Thus ended the famous battle of Nafeby, in which the wonderful fuccess of the parliament party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's fquadrons with fuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durst stop him. 'Tis faid, that in this action, a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanc'd briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a fingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encounter'd by him, both fides forbearing to come in, till their piftols being discharg'd, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad fword, chanc'd to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now just going to repeat his stroak, Cromwell's party came in and rescu'd him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his faddle, which he hastily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

The binet with his letters and pa-

THE king's loss in this battle was irreparable; king's ca- for besides that there were slain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, most of his foot were taken prisoners, with all his canpers taken non and baggage, eight thousand arms and other rich booty; among which was also his majesty's own cabinet, where were reposited his most secret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which shew'd how contrary his counsels with her were to those he declared to the kingdom; for

in one of them he declares his intention, to make peace with the Irish, and to have forty thousand of them over into England to prosecute the war here; and in another he complains, That he could not prevail with his mungrel parliament at Oxford, to vote that the two houses at Westminster were not a lawful parliament; fo little thanks, as one observes who was no enemy to his majesty, had coke. these noble lords and gentlemen, for exposing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adversity; what then might they expect, if he should prevail by conquest? In those letters also, he tells the queen, That he would not make a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she fent him: That in the treaty at Uxbridge, be did not positively own the parliament, it being otherwise to be construed, tho' they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, That he did not acknowledge them a parliament. These and many other papers relating to the publick, were printed with observations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houses, who also made a publick declaration of them, shewing what the nobility and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect.

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Naseby, to the conclusion of the first civil war.

HE battle of Naseby was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period, the king's affairs became desperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and most fensibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no fooner gain'd this wonderful advantage, but

1645. like a torrent they foon overflowed the whole

kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leicefler was immediately regained without any confiderable opposition. From thence they march'd to the relief of Taunton, which being befieg'd by Goring's army, had made a wonderful refiftance under the command of the valiant Blake. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, Goring drew off his army towards Langport; and being mafter of the feveral passes on the river, hop'd to have declin'd fighting, and fecured his retreat towards Bridgewater: But the others drew down their ordnance with fuch advantage, that whilst they did great execution on Goring's army, their foot resolutely gain'd the pass, and the horse advanc'd over; when they so bravely engag'd the enemy, that they foon put them to flight, charging them almost to Bridgewater. Cromwell in this acwell's con- tion shewed much prudence as well as courage; for he would not fuffer part of the horse to purfue the enemy, till they were all come up together; and then himself leading them on, perform'd the work with fuch fuccefs, that he took almost all their foot and ordnance.

Cromduct in the battle of Langport.

Bridgewater taken.

AFTER this victory, 'twas refolved, in a council of war, to storm the strong garrison of Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the affault on the 22d of July, and forc'd a furrender the very next The taking of this place was a very great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garrisons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the fouth coasts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime and Langport; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts.

THE merciless rapines and violence practifed by the royalists in the western parts, had occasi-

oned

oned the rifing of a third kind of army, which fuddenly flarting up in divers counties, affembled to the number of five or fix thousand of the middle Cromwell fort of men. These soon had the name of Club- suppresses Men, and were encouraged by feveral gentlemen of men. the country, who entertained particular hopes from this infurrection. The motto of their colours was,

If you offer to plunder or take our cattle, Be affur'd we will bid you battle.

This army of Club-Men for some time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themselves. But having for some months stood upon their own defence, and molested both armies, they were at last very seasonably suppress'd and dispers'd by the parliament forces under lieutenant-general Cromwell; who, together with Fairfax, daily gain'd ground inthose parts.

BRISTOL was a place of very great importance, Affifts at which prince Rupert, with about five thousand the fiege horse and foot, held for the king. It was now of Briffol. therefore thought requifite to befiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general being come before it, summon'd prince Rupert to deliver up the town; but upon his refusal, it was advis'd by Cromwell and some other chief officers to storm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with fo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a second assault, but immediately furrender'd that great and well fortify'd city to the parliament general; whereby the king lost all his chief magazines and warlike provisions, and consequently in a short time South-Wales and all the west of England. Upon this his majesty wrote a sharp letter to prince Rupert, in which he fays,

1645. fays, I must remember you of yours of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, That if no mutiny bappened, you would keep Bristol for four months; Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, some where beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass, &c.

Writes to ment.

FAIRFAX and Cromwell fent letters to the the parlia- parliament, relating the particulars of the fiege of Bristol, and in Cromwell's there was this passage: It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made: Their bumble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises, they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments to God's glory, and their country's good: It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service, know, That faith and prayers obtained this city for you.

BRISTOL being thus reduc'd, Cromwell prefently takes with him a brigade of four regiments, and marches to the strong castle of the Devizes, whose natural strength was much improv'd by the ingenuity of its governour, Sir Charles Lloyd, who looking upon it to be almost impregnable. return'd no other answer to Cromwell's first sum-Takes the mons, but Win it and wear it. But as if nothing could be a fufficient defence against this victorious commander, whose very name began now to firike terror to his enemies, the governour was foon brought to terms, and forc'd to deliver up

caftle of the Devizes.

Reduces

the place to him. AFTER this, Cromwell haftens to Winchester,

Vinchester. and in his march disarms and disperses the Hampshire club-men thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortify'd; but after a short

dispute, he fir'd the gate, and his men enter'd. This done, he summon'd the castle; which not furrendering, he planted fix guns, and after firing them round, fent a fecond fummons for a treaty, which they also refus'd. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred shot, and then the governour, the lord Ogle, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and colonel Hammond and major Harrison for Cromwell, agreed upon articles for delivering up the castle into the hands of the parliament. Here an inftance is given of Cromwell's faithfulness in his punctual observance of articles; for 'tis faid, that being inform'd, that some of his men had been faulty in this respect, he caus'd one of them to be hang'd to the terror of others, and fent the rest to Oxford, that the governour Sir Thomas Glembam might punish them as he thought fit; who is faid with generous acknowledgments to return them to Cromwell again.

His next attempt was upon Basing-house, a Storms very strong place. It was the mansion of the and takes marquis of Winchester, a Papist, standing on a house. rifing ground, and encompass'd with a brickrampart lined with earth, having a deep dry ditch furrounding it. Here the marquis stood upon his guard, affifted at first only with his own family and a hundred musqueteers from Oxford; but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occasion. This garrison had been often affaulted, but in vain; first by colonel Norton and colonel Harvy; next, by Sir William Waller with feven thousand horse and foot; who, though many then called him William the Conqueror, did little more than increase the courage of the befieged, who made many furious fallies upon him. Thus the place stood for fome years out-braying all attempts, till the vali-

1645. ant Cromwell endeavour'd the reducing of it, I which he very foon effected; for having feen the lord Ogle the late governour of Winchester, march out according to articles, and fettled the affairs of that garrison for the parliament, he the next day march'd for Basing; where being arriv'd, after planting the batteries, and fettling the feveral posts for a storm, his men fell on with great resolution. Colonel Pickering storm'd the new house, and paffing through, got the gate of the old house; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament foldiers would not regard. In the mean time, colonel Montague's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments recover'd the strongest work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduc'd with very little loss on the parliament's side. Seventy four of the royalifts were flain, among whom were fome officers of quality, divers of them Papists. Two hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was the marquis himself, Sir Robert Peak, and several other officers, whom Cromwell fent up to the parliament. They took about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and provisions, and there was rich pillage for the foldiers, of money, jewels, housholdstuff, &c. For these important services, the house order'd a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

Gains
Langfordbouse.

THE next place Cromwell visited, was Langford-bouse near Salisbury; but Sir Bartholomew Pell having had information of what he had done at Basing, and expecting no better success, submitted at the first summons.

Marches towards Exeter. From hence he march'd towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards

wards Exeter, with a defign to lay siege to it: 1645. Where being arriv'd, he advanc'd farther west-ward towards the enemy, and at Bovy-Tracy sought the brigade commanded by the lord Went-worth, taking sour hundred horse, and about a hundred foot, prisoners, with six standards, one

of which was the king's.

THE defign upon Exeter being for the present Dantlaid afide, the army under Fairfax and Cromwell mouth taappear'd before Dartmouth, and took it by ftorm; ken by ftorm; which being done, they encounter'd the lord Hop- and the ton at Torrington, and gave him an absolute de-lord Hopfeat; and then pursu'd the only remains of a ton defeatroyal army into Cornwall, where prince Charles ed, had his own regiment, and other Cornish troops, which compos'd a body of about five thousand horse, and one thousand foot: But not able to relift the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he imbarked with feveral lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the isle of Scilly. His troops were left under the command of the lord Hopton, who was fo press'd upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to disband on the 14th of March; foon after which Exeter was furrender'd to the parlia-And now lieutenant-general Cromwell came up to London from the general, to advise about the future motion of the army; and taking his place in the parliament, receiv'd the hearty thanks of the house for his great and faithful fervices.

FAIRFAX and Cromwell having thus scowered the west, and only Newark remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and desperate condition. The royalists in Oxford had indeed still some little hopes from a party commanded by the lord Astley, which were the only forces in the sield for the king; but these hopes

1645. ley routed and taken

hopes foon vanish'd; for being encountered by colonel Morgan near Stow on the Would, he was Lord Aft; entirely defeated, himself and almost all his men being taken prisoners. Aftley was so sensible of prisoner. the consequence of this defeat, that when he was taken, he said to one of the parliament-officers, You have now done your work and may go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves.

1646.

THE parliament army, flush'd with irrefistible fuccess, was now marching to befiege Oxford, the king's head quarters and place of his refidence; who in this extremity resolv'd to throw himself into the hands of the Scotch army, then lying before Newark. He was advised to do this by Monsieur Montrevil, the French ambassador, who was then in the Scotch quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, because the animosities between the English parliament and the Scots, were now grown very high, the latter complaining against the former, for their delays in settling the Presbyterian government of the church according to the Covenant; and for with-hold-In pursuance of this resoluing their pay. capes from tion, before the fiege of Oxford could be formed, the king escaped from thence on the 27th of He went away in disguise, accompany'd only by Dr. Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, and riding as a fervant to the latter, with a cloakbag behind him. They went to Henly, Brentford, and Harrow-on-the-Hill; thence towards St. Albans, making their way to Harborough, where they expected Monfieur Montrevil; who not being there as he had appointed, the king went to Stamford, thence to Downham, and so to Southam; where finding the French agent, he fent to general Leven, and was conducted by a troop of horse to lieutenant-general Lesly's quarters. Oxford being close block'd up, surrender'd

King ef-Oxford to the Scotch army.

on the 22d of June, and the few remaining gar- 1646. isons soon after, viz. Worcester, Wallingford, Pendennis-castle, and Ragland-castle. The par-oxford and all o-liament being informed of the king's escape from the pla-Oxford, and arrival in the Scotch army, were ces fubvery much startled at it, and fent an order to mit to the their commissioners to demand him of them; re- Parliaquiring also their army to advance, in order to ment. hinder a conjunction of the king's party with the Scots, being very jealous of his making terms with them: But upon their furrendering Newark to the English, which the king had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and general Leven's forbidding his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they began to be pretty well fatisfy'd for the present; and so the Scots, having got the king in their possession, march'd with him to Newcastle, where he receiv'd the parliament's propositions for peace; which he not agreeing to, they confult how to take him out of the hands of the Scots, to fend them out of England, and to bring him up into safer custody. In order to this, they thought it necessary to reckon with the Scots, who offer'd to accept of a fum in gross, for full discharge of their arrears, to be agreed on by commissioners. These concluded on four hundred thousand pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within stated terms. The delivering King deup of the king was a tacit condition of this a- liver'd up greement; and accordingly, the Scots having re- to the ceived two hundred thousand pounds, which was and Cent down to them, deliver'd the king, after he brought had been with them about nine months, into the to Holmhands of the parliament's commissioners, who by conducted him to Holmby-house in Northampton-Upon this Mr. Coke has these reflexions: Thus this prince, who before had shifted the

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1646.

worthy members of parliament from one prifon to another, that they might have no benefit of their Habeas-Corpus, is himself shifted a
Prisoner from one place to another, without any hope of an Habeas-Corpus: He that before, by his absolute will and pleasure, would
without any law seize his subjects goods, and
commit them to prison, cannot now enjoy his
own estate in his own house: He that before
arbitrarily rais'd ship-mony, has not now one
ship to command.

CHAP. V.

From the conclusion of the first and long civil war, to the king's seizure at Holmby by the army.

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HE king's party being subdu'd by the parliament, who had also got him into their hands, and the Scots having quietly left the kingdom, and so the long civil war between the king and the parliament, which had been maintain'd at the expence of fo much blood and treasure, being entirely ended, the victors began now to quarrel amongst themselves; and the differences and diffensions in the parliament and army, and chiefly between those two bodies, the civil and military powers, occasion'd a great deal of uneasiness and trouble to the nation. The foundation of all this, as Ludlow tells us, were the high contests between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, the one not enduring any fuperior, nor the other any equal. The Presbyterians, fays he, grasp'd at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterness against all other sects, as against the episcopal party; and finding themselves superior in both houses, little doubt-

Differences arife between the parliament and army.

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ed of being able to reform the army, and newmodel it again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the death of the earl of Effex, who deceas'd about this time, prevented them. This party prevail'd very much in the city, so that an address was presented to the parliament from the mayor and common-council, wherein after acknowledging the care of the two houses in the reformation of the church, &c. they defir'd, that fuch affemblies as were privately held to introduce new fects, might be suppress'd, and that those who were distinguish'd by the name of Independents, might be remov'd from all employments civil and military. Ludlow farther tells us, the party in the house that were for betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, for a speedy peace, and to suppress sectaries: The army, both officers and soldiers, were complain'd against, as holding erroneous and schismatical doctrines; and for taking upon them to preach and expound the scripture, not being learned nor ordained. And as-Cromwell espous'd the Independent party, the parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking measures to dismiss him, and his chief partizans, from their military posts. Cromwell The parwas no less jealous of them, and being aware of liament what they design'd, resolv'd to be even with jealous of them Ludlow tells us that as he was mill cromwell, them. Ludlow tells us, that as he was walking and he of with him one morning in Sir Robert Cotton's gar- them. den, he inveigh'd bitterly against the parliament, and said familiarly to him, If thy father were a- His dislive, he would let some of them hear what they course deserve; adding farther, That it was a misera- low thereble thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man upon, be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never

1646. wipe it off; whereas, when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free

from all blame and envy.

ACCORDINGLY from this time Cromwell, to fecure himself, and prevent the designs of the Presbyterians, made a strong party for military power, for which he had now a fair opportunity offer'd him: For the Presbyterian party in parliament, knowing that the army was mostly inclin'd to the Independents, were earnestly desirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this defign, under the pretence of lessening their great charge, they refolv'd on the disbanding of fome troops, and transporting others for the service of Cromwell having timely notice of this resolution, he together with Ireton infinuated to the foldiers, that the parliament intended to difband them without paying them their arrears, or else to send them into Ireland to die of sickness and famine. Upon this, the foldiers broke out into reviling language against the parliament; and when the orders for disbanding some, and transporting others, as before mention'd, were fent down to them, they refus'd to comply with The parliament being inform'd of it, were very much offended at this behaviour of the army; but the prudence and moderation of majorgeneral Skippon, in reporting the matter to the house, much abated the heat of their refentment; though feveral threatning expressions came from fome of them; which occasion'd Cromwell, then in the house, to whisper Ludlow in the ear, saying, These men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears.

Agitators and council of officers fet up into competition with the parliament, and to by the arclaim a share with them in settling the kingdom; my.

1647. He promotes the army's jealousy of the parliament.

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and that they might be upon a nearer level with 1647. them, they made choice of a Number of fuch officers as they approv'd, which was called the general's council of officers, and was to resemble the house of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, most coporals or serjeants, were chosen by the common foldiers, and call'd Agitators, who were to answer to the house of commons. These two bodies met severally, and examin'd all the acts and orders of the parliament towards fetling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing or difbanding the army; and, after some consultations, they unanimously resolved and declared, "That Their re-" they would not be divided or disbanded, till folutions. " their full arrears were paid, and till full provi-" fion was made for liberty of conscience; which " they faid was the ground of the quarrel, tho' " hitherto there was so little security provided in " that point, that there was now a greater per-" fecution against religious and godly men, than " ever had been in the king's government, when " the bishops were their Judges". They ad-"That they did not look upon them-" felves as a band of Janizaries, hired and en-" tertain'd only to fight their battles; but that " they had voluntarily taken up arms for the " liberty and defence of the nation, of which " they were a part; and before they laid down " those arms, they would see all those ends " well provoided for, that the people might not " hereafter fusser those grievances, with which they had formerly been oppress'd".

THREE or four of their own members being fent to the house of commons with this declaration, they with great confidence delivered it at the bar. And soon after, the soldiers drew up a vindication of their proceedings, directing it to their general; wherein they complained of a de-

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1647. fign to disband, and new-model the army; "Which they faid, was a plot contrived by some men, who had lately tafted of fovereignty, " and being rais'd above the ordinary sphere of " fervants, would fain become mafters, and were " degenerated into tyrants." For which reason they declared, " That they would neither be emof ployed for the fervice of Ireland, nor fuffer " themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were obtained, and the subjects rights and li-" berties should be vindicated and secur'd." This paper being fign'd by many inferior officers, the parliament declar'd them enemies to the state, imprisoning some of them who talk'd loudest: Whereupon they drew up another address to their general, complaining, " How disdainfully " they were used by the parliament, for whom " they had ventur'd their lives, and spilt their " blood; that the privileges due to them as fol-

> " to them, they were abus'd, beaten, and imce prison'd."

Cromwell fact, Fairfax only in name.

Upon this Fairfax (who was indeed a Presbygeneral in terian, but was only general in name, Cromwell having got the ascendant over him, and having the fole influence upon the army, which he managed as he pleas'd) was prevail'd with to write a letter to a member of parliament, who read it to the house; wherein he took notice of several petitions, which were prepar'd in the city of London, and other places against the army; adding, "That it was look'd upon as strange, that the " officers of the army might not be permitted to e petition, when so many petitions were receiv'd " against them; and that he much doubted, that " the army might draw to a rendezvous, and " think of taking some other course for their own vindication." THE

" diers, and as subjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries done

THE parliament was exceedingly troubled at 1647. these proceedings of the army. However, they resolv'd not to submit to, or be govern'd by those who were their fervants, and liv'd upon their pay: And therefore, after many severe expressions a- Declaratigainst the presumptions of several officers and on of the foldiers, they declar'd, "That who foever should parlia-" refuse, being commanded, to engage in the fer- gainst the " vice of Ireland, should be disbanded." But army, afthe army would by no means recede from the re-terwards folutions they had taken, and falling into a direct ras'd out and high mutiny, call'd for the arrears due to journalthem, which they knew where, and how to levy book. for themselves; nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the declaration of the parliament against them was rased out of their journal-book, and a month's pay fent to them: Nor did this fatisfy them, but they still gave out, "That they knew how to " make themselves as considerable as the parlia-" ment, and where to have their fervice better e-" fteem'd and requited." This fo startled the par- A comliament, that they fent a committee of the lords mittee of and commons, some whereof were not at all un- the parligrateful to the army, to treat with a committee fent to of officers, upon the best means to be used, for treat with composing these differences. By which method a comof proceeding, the army seemed to be put upon mittee of a level with the parliament; and this also dispos'd general Fairfax to a greater concurrence with the humour of the army, when he saw it was so much comply'd with, and submitted to by all men.

CROMWELL hitherto thought it necessary cromwell's to keep himself as fair with the parliament as pos- managefible; for which purpose, having a rare knack at ment with diffimulation, he would feem highly displeas'd with the parliathe infolence of the foldiers, and being still in the house of commons, when any of their addresses were presented, inveigh'd bitterly against their

1647. presumption. He also propos'd, That the general might be fent down to the army; who, he faid, would foon conjure down this mutinous spirit: And he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was once or twice fent to reduce them to order; and having staid two or three days with them, he would again return to the parliament, and make heavy complaints " of the great license that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who defired that the nation should be again imbru'd " in blood, he was render'd fo odious to them, " that they had defign'd to kill him, if he had or not timely escap'd out of their hands." But notwithstanding this, he was greatly suspected by many, of having under-hand encourag'd the army's proceedings; and the most active officers and agitators were believ'd to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his direction: So Their de- that it was privately refolv'd by the chief memfign of fei- bers of the house of commons, that when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom fail'd to do, they would fend him to the Tower.

zing him.

escapes.

His letter to the parliament,

This design could not be manag'd so secretly, but Cromwell got intelligence of it; and so when Which he the house the next day expected every minute to see him come in, they had notice given them, that he was met out of the town by break of day, with only one fervant, making what hafte he could towards the army, where he had order'd a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he fent a letter to the house of commons, to acquaint them, "That having the night be-" fore receiv'd a letter from some officers of his own regiment, That the jealoufy the troops " had conceiv'd of him, and of his want of kind-" ness towards them, was much abated, so that " they believed, if he would forthwith come down

to them, they would all by his advice be foon 1647. reclaim'd; upon this he had made all the hafte he could, and did find, that the foldiers had been abus'd by misinformation; and that he " hop'd to discover the fountain from whence it " fprung; and in the mean time defired, that the " general, and the other officers of the house, or " fuch as remain'd about the town, might be im-" mediately fent to their quarters; and he believ-" ed it would be very requisite, in order to the " suppression of the late distempers, and for the " prevention of the like for the future, to have a general rendezvous of the army, of which the general would best consider, when he came down; which he wish'd might be hasten'd."

THIS account of Cromwell's management with Sir Harthe parliament, leads me to insert here what Sir botle Harbotle Grimston related to bishop Burnet, con- story concerning him, as we have it in the first volume cerning of the bishop's history, p. 45. During the con-him. tests between the army and the parliament (for we cannot exactly affign the time when this happen'd) two officers brought an account to Grimfton, that at a meeting of the officers, it being propofed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to confide in; Cromwell thereupon faid, he was fure of the army, but there was another body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely the house of commons, and he believed the army only could do that. Grimfton brought the officers to the lobby of the house, where they were resolved to justify what they had said; and the commons having then something in debate, he diverted it, faying, he had a matter of privilege of the highest nature to lay before them, which concern'd the being and freedom of the house; and then he accused Cromwell of a design to put a force upon them, and having his witnesses

nesses at the door, requested they might be examin'd. Accordingly they were brought to the bar, and justify'd all they had related to him, and gave a full account of what had pass'd at the meetings of the officers; which done, they withdrew; when Cromwell falling down on his knees, made a folemn prayer to God, attefting his innocence, and his zeal for the interest of the house. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, and then made so long a speech in his own vindication, that he tired the house and wrought so much on his party, that what the officers faid was so little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir Harbotle believed, that both he and they had been fent to the tower. Cromwell however no fooner got out of the house, but resolving to trust himself no more with them, he hastened to the army; and a few days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the house. 'Twas his opinion, it feems, as the bishop observes, with many in those times, that in great occasions, when fome were called to extraordinary services, they were excused from the common rules of morali-

And Mr.

ANOTHER story related by Mr. Locke, in his Memoirs relating to the life of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, first earl of Shaftsbury, may be likewise proper to be here inserted. He tells us, it happen'd one morning that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper calling upon Mr. Hollis (viz. after their reconciliation, which he also relates) in his way to the house, he found him in a great heat against Cromwell, saying, he was resolved to bring him to punishment. Sir A. A. shew'd him how dangerous such an attempt might be, earnestly dissuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by sending him with a command into

ty; which they thought was the case of the

judges among the Israelites.

Ireland, which, as things stood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not fatisfy Hollis; and fo when he came to the house, he brought the matter to a debate, and it was moved, that Cromwell, and those guilty with him, should be punished. Cromwell being then in the house, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took horse, and posted to the army (which my author fays, as he remembers, was at Triploe-Heath) where he informed them of what the Presbyterian party was doing in the house, and made such use of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to London, giving out menaces against Hollis and his party, who, with Stapleton and some others, were fain to fly; and thereby the Independent party becoming the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purged the house, and turn'd out the Presbyterians. Soon after, Cromwell meeting Sir A. A. told him, I am bebolden to you for your kindness to me; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without punishment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wife enough to take your advice. But to return:

THE king was all this while at Holmby: But The king the animofities between the parliament and army taken still continuing and increasing, the agitators fear- from ed the parliament would now for their own fecurity receive him upon any terms, or rather put brought themselves under his protection, that they might to the arthe better subdue the army and reduce them to my. obedience. Wherefore, being instigated thereto by Cromwell, they on the 4th of June, fent cornet Joyce, one of their body, with a party of horse, to take the king out of the hands of the parliament-commissioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, Joyce about midnight drew up his horse in order before Holmby-bouse, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and major-

general

1647. general Brown, who being alarm'd, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and business, he faid his name was Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whalley's regiment, and his business was to speak with the king. Being ask'd from whom, he faid, From my felf, my errand is to the king, I must and I will speak with him. Greaves and Brown commanded their men within to stand to their arms; but they feeing them to be their fellow foldiers of the fame army, open'd the gates, and shook hands The cornet plac'd with them as old friends. his centinels at the commissioners chamber-doors, and went himself by the back-stairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much furpriz'd, defired him to lay afide his arms, and affured him, that in the morning he should speak with the king: But he with fword and pistol infifted to have the door opened, and made fo much noise that it waked his majesty, who sent him out word, That he would not rife nor speak with bim till the morning; upon which the cornet retir'd in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, fent for him, who with great boldness told his majesty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king defired the commissioners might be call'd; but Joyce said, they had nothing to do, but to return back to the parliament. Being ask'd for a fight of his instructions, he told his majesty be should see them presently; fo drawing up his troop in the inner court, Thefe, Sir, faid he, are my Instructions. The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and arm'd, told the cornet with a smile, His instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling. Foyce then pressing the king to go along with him, his majesty refus'd, unless the commissioners might attend him; to which the corner reply'd, He was

very indifferent, they might go if they would: So the king being attended by the commissioners of the parliament, went along with Joyce, and was that night conducted by him to colonel Montague's house at Hinchingbrook, and the next night to Sir John Cutt's at Childersley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and fome of them kiffed his hand. 'Tis faid, That Joyce being told, that the general was displeas'd with him, for taking the king from Holmby, he answer'd, That lieutenant-general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done; and indeed Fairfax now refign'd himself entirely to Cromwell's judgment, who led and govern'd him as he pleas'd. And though he was at first diffatisfy'd with this proceeding of Joyce, yet Cromwell foon appealed him, by representing to him, " That nothing could have been done of " greater advantage to the army and their gene-" rals, to the church and state, than what Joyce " had been doing: That the king was on the " point of making an accommodation with the " parliament, who had determin'd to send colo-" nel Greaves to fetch him; and if Joyce had " not fetch'd him, there wou'd have been an " end of both officers and army, and all the " pains they had taken for the publick good, would not only have been useless, but crimi-" nal."

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CHAP. VI.

From the king's seizure at Holmby, to his departure to the isle of Wight.

Eleven members impeached by the army.

HE parliament received the news of the king's seisure by the army, with the utmost amazement and consternation: But this was not all; for about this time, the army drew up a charge of high-treason against eleven members of the house of commons, viz. Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, Colonel Massey, and Sir John Maynard; for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and deftroy the army, &c. This charge was accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reason of what they had done, affirming, that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tender'd the preservation of the publick cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason, being rather to hinder these members, who were the chief of the Presbyterian party, from using their influence in the house (which was very great) in opposition to the proceedings of the army, than the proceeding capitally against them, they determin'd rather voluntarily to withdraw themselves, than to put the parliament or army to any further trouble, or themselves to any more hazard.

As these eleven members were the chief of the Presbyterian party in parliament; so at the head of the opposite party (who were all call'd Independents, tho' made up of men of different persuasions, as well as of real Independents) were

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lieutenant - general Cromwell, colonel Ludlow, John Lifle, Esq; Sir Henry Vane, Henry Marten, Esq; Sir Arthur Hasterigg, Sir Henry Mildmay, lord Grey of Groby, lord Monfon, Anthony Stapely, Efq; Miles Corbet, Efq; &c. There was another party in the house of commons who declared for neither fide, as Mr. Pierpoint, Bul-Brode Whitelock, Esq; Oliver St. John, Esq; John Crew, Eig; Sir Thomas Widdrington, colonel Birch, Mr. Goodwyn, Sir John Hippefly, &c. Who sometimes voted with the Presbyterians, and fometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduc'd most to the service of the state; and generally they went with those who were for satisfaction and security, till it was known that the death of the king was meant by it.

CROMWELL's great defign, was to hinder cromwell's

any conjunction between the king and the Pres-defign of byterians; and having now gotten him into his reft ring own hands, he was for endeavouring his restora- the king by means tion by means of the Independents, thinking that of the In-

thereby liberty of conscience would be the better depenfecured, which the Presbyterian hierarchy would dents. not fo well admit of. And indeed the king himfelf began to think that his condition was alter'd for

the better, and to look upon the Independent interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it might sublift under any

form, which the other could not do. What encourag'd the king the more, was, that he was much

more civilly treated fince his being in the army, than he was before, whilft he was the parliament's prisoner at Holmby. He was now indeed to make

his involuntary progress according to the motion of the army, and so at length was brought to

Hampton-Court; but he was every where allow'd to appear in state and lustre, his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all fervants

permitted to attend in their proper places. The army had also sent an address to him full of protestations of duty, beseeching him, "That he would be content, for some time, to reside a.

viour towards the

king.

or mong them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture, as he might find " all things to his own content, and fecurity; which they infinitely defired to fee as foon as " might be, and to that purpose made daily in-His beha- " stances to the parliament." Cromwell indeed thought fit at first to be somewhat upon the referve in this matter, for fear of increasing the parliament's jealoufy of him. The lord Clarendon tells us, That he and Ireton had been with his majefty, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; that the king used all the address he could towards them, to get some promise from them, as knowing them to have the greatest influence upon the army; but they were fo referv'd, and flood fo much upon their guard, and spoke so few words, that nothing could be gather'd from what they faid; and they defired to be excused for not feeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity. But after some time, their behaviour toward his majesty was more free and open, they vifited him more frequently, and had longer conferences with him; and Cromwell in particular is faid to have promis'd him, " That if he and his party would fit still, and neither act or declare against the army, " they would reftore him, and make him the most glorious prince in christendom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his friends, he boafted, "That now he had got the king into his " hands, he had the parliament in his pocket." His majesty was very sensible that Cromwell and Ireton bore the greatest sway in the army, and that

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that general Fairfax had little or no influence 1647. upon it. We are inform'd, that his excellency conferr'd with the king in private, and in a particular manner offer'd him his fervice; but upon his taking leave, his majesty said to him, Sir, 1 have as good interest in the army as you: Which expression, the general said, was more shocking, and occasioned him more grief and vexation, than all the troubles and fatigues he had endured thro' the whole war.

THE news of the king's being in the army, and the civil treatment he met with from them, occasion'd the queen and prince of Wales, then in France, to dispatch Sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's fifter, but had been an officer in the king's army from the beginning of the war, to found the defign of the army, and to promote an agreement between the king and them. Sir John Berkley was likewise sent over upon the like errand; and 'twas in his instructions to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, to come and affift him in his negotiation. Being on his way towards London, he was met by Sir Allen Appefley, who had been lieutenant-governour under him His mefat Exeter; by whom he was acquainted, that he fage to Sir was fent to him from lieutenant-general Cromwell, John Berkand some other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher, as also particular instructions to desire him to call to mind his own discourse at a conference with colonel Lambert, and other officers, upon the furrender of Exeter; when having taken notice of the bitter reproaches cast on the king by those of the army, and supposing that fuch discourses were encouraged in order to dispose mens minds for an alteration of the government; he faid, " That it was not only a most " wicked, but difficult undertaking, if not im-" possible, for a few men, not of the greatest qua-

1647.

lity, to introduce a popular government, against " the king, the nobility and gentry, the Presby. terians, and the genius of the nation, for fo many ages accustom'd to monarchy; and advi-" fed, That fince the Presbyterians, who had bee gun the war upon many specious pretences, were found to have fought only their own ad-" vancements, by which means they had loft al-" most all their power and credit; the Independent party, who had no particular obligation to the crown, as many of the Presbyterians " had, would make good what the Presbyterians " had only pretended to, and reffore the king and people to their just and ancient rights; which they were concern'd to do in point of " prudence and interest, there being no means under heaven more likely to secure themselves, and obtain as much trust and power as subjects " are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, " it would be attended with a general hatred, and "their own destruction." He was likewise ordered by Cromwell, to let Sir John know, "That " tho' to this discourse of his, they then gave only the hearing; yet they had fince found by " experience, that all, or the greatest part of it was reasonable, and they were resolv'd to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already pass'd; and defired that he would " present them humbly to the queen and prince, and be a fuitor to them in their names, not " to condemn them absolutely, but to suspend their " opinion of them, and of their intentions, till " their future carriage should make full proof of " their integrity, of which they had already gi-" ven some testimonies to the world; and that when he had perform'd this office, he would come back to England, and be an eye-witness of their proceedings."

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THE parliament at this time fear'd nothing fo 1647. much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was to much shew; and many improdent persons, who very much desir'd it, brag'd too much of it; whereupon the two houfes fent a committee to his majesty, with an address of a other strain than they had lately us'd, making many protestations of duty, and declaring, "That if he was not in all respects treated as " he ought to be, and as he defired, it was not " their fault, who were defirous he might be at " full liberty, and do what he would." army at the same time was not without jealousy, that the king hearken'd to some secret propositions from the Presbyterian party, and defign'd to make an absolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occasion'd Ireton to say to him, Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament. The king in the mean time finding himself courted on all hands, was fo confident of his own importance, as to imagine himself able to turn the scale to what side foever he pleased. In this temper he was when Sir John Berkley came to him; which he did, after leave obtain'd from Cromwell, who also confirm'd with his own mouth what Sir Allen Appelley had before communicated to Sir John, with this addition, " That he thought no man could His dif-" enjoy his life and estate quietly, unless the king course " had his right; which, be faid, they had alrea- with him, " dy declared to the world in general terms, and " would more particularly very foon, wherein " they would comprize the several interests of " the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents, " as far as they were confiftent with one another." Some time after, 'tis faid, Sir John meeting him at

at Reading, as he was coming from the king at Caversham, Cromwell told him, " That he had " lately seen the tenderest fight that ever his eyes " beheld, which was the interview between the " king and his children;" and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, "That never " man was fo abus'd in his finister opinion of the king, who he thought was the most upright and conscientious man in the three kingdoms; that the Independent party were infinitely obliged to him, for not consenting to the propofitions sent to him at Newcastle, which would

" have totally ruin'd them, and which his ma-" jesty's interest seem'd to invite him to." Concluding with this wish, "That God would be " pleas'd to look upon him, according to the fin-

" cerity of his heart towards the king."

Agitators well doubtful of one another's fincerity towards the king.

THE army in general, as well as Cromwell, and crom- appeared at this time to be very zealous for the king's interest, and yet they seem'd somewhat to fuspect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir John Berkley convers'd at Reading, declar'd to him their jealousy, that Cromwell was not fincere for the king, and defired him, if he found him false, to inform them of it, promifing, that they would endeavour to fet him right, either with or against his Major Huntingdon, an officer in Cromwell's regiment, who was entrusted by him to command the guard about his majesty, became wholly devoted to the royal interest, and by the king's order brought two general officers to Berkley, as persons in whom he might confide. These two discours'd frequently with him, and affur'd him, "That a conjunction with the king was univerfally defired by the officers and agitators, and "that Cromwell and Ireton were great diffem-

blers, if they were not real in it; but that the

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" army was so bent upon it at present, that they " durst not shew themselves otherwise." They likewise inform'd him, "That proposals were " drawn up by Ireton, wherein Epilcopacy was " not requir'd to be abolish'd, nor any of the " king's party wholly ruin'd, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown;" and advis'd, "That his majesty would without delay consent " to them, there being no affurance of the army, " which they had observ'd already to have chang-" ed more than once." Cromwell himself was also doubtful of the army. In all his conferences with Berkley, he appear'd exceeding defirous of a speedy agreement with the king, insomuch that he sometimes blam'd Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his backwardness in coming up to his majesty's sense; and on the other hand would wish, that Sir John Berkley would act more frankly, and not tie himself up by narrow Principles; always declaring, That he doubted the army would not perfift in their good intentions towards the king.

By this time Mr. Ashburnham was arriv'd to Mr. Ashthe king's great fatisfaction. Sir John Berkley burnbam convers'd chiefly with the agitators; but Ashburn- arrives. bam was foon of another mind, and openly declar'd, That having always us'd the best company, he would not converse with such senseless fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gain'd, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own army; and that he determined to apply himself wholly to them. Hereupon And corthere was foon observ'd a great familiarity be-responds tween him and Whalley, who commanded the with guard that attended the king, as also a close cor- Cromwell. respondence with Gromwell and his son-in-law Ireton, messages daily passing from the king to the head-quarters: Which foon gave the rest of the

army

1647. army a suspicion of some private treaty being

likes the army's

carry'd on with the king; who being likewife encouraged by the Presbyterian party (the lord King dif- Lauderdale, and feveral of the city of London, affuring him, that they would oppose the army to the death) when the proposals were brought to proposals. him, and his concurrence humbly defir'd by the army, he entertained their commissioners with very disobliging language, saying, That no man should suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing fo much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of Strafford; and that he would have the church established according to law by the propofals; for there was nothing mention'd in them concerning church-government. The proposals were indeed much more moderate, than those sent to him from the parliament; but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like expressions, You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not sustain you. Not only the officers of the army who were present, but the king's own party, appear'd exceedingly aftonish'd at this kind of proceeding; whereupon he began to soften his former discourse, but it was too late; for colonel Rainsborough, who feem'd least of all At which to defire an agreement with him, immediately going out from the conference, went directly to the army, and gave them to understand what treatment their commissioners and proposals had met with from the king.

it is difgusted.

> LET us now see how matters stood between the parliament, army, and city at this time. The city, who hated the army, had their militia fettled on the 4th of May, in the Management of the Presbyterians, who were very diligent in compleating their companies: But this was contrary

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to the defign of the army, and judg'd to be a 1647. conspiracy against it; whereupon Fairfax, who in every thing was influenc'd by Cromwell, upon the 10th of June wrote a letter to the parliament, That the militia of the city of London might be put into the hands of fuch as were better affected to the army. This the parliament quietly submitted to, and July 23d repeal'd the ordi-The common-council nance of the 4th of May. being hereupon affembled, refolv'd to petition the parliament against it, which they accordingly did on the 26th; and prefently after, many thousand citizens, young men and apprentices, went in a body and deliver'd another petition, fetting forth, "That to order the city's militia " was the city's birth-right, belonging to them " by charters confirm'd in parliament; for de-" fence whereof, they had ventured their lives " as far as the army; and therefore they defir'd, " that the militia might be put again into the " fame hands, in which it was put with the parlia-" ment's and city's confent, by the ordinance of " the 4th of May." Upon the reading of this petition, the house of peers immediately revoked the ordinance of the 23d of July, and renewed that of the 4th of May, and fent it down to the commons for their confent; which The parthey durst not refuse, the apprentices behaving liament themselves so insolently, that they would scarce insulted let the door of the house be shut, and some of them got in amongst them: And some time after, when the house broke up, the speaker was forc'd back into the chair by the violence of the multitude, who detained him and the members, till they obliged them to pass a vote, That the king should come forthwith to London; and another, That he should be invited to come with honour, freedom, and safety. And then both houses adjourn'd for four days.

1647 Whereupon feveral members fly to the army for protection.

IN this interval, several members, and the fpeakers of both houses, being apprehensive of danger from fuch tumults, repair'd to the army, complaining of the violences upon the parliament. The army could not have defir'd a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two speakers with the members, as so many angels fent from heaven for their good, shewed them all imaginable respect, professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of England, and declared, That they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt. After the four days adjournment, the remainder of the parliament met; and both houses missing their speakers, chose them new ones, and passed the following votes. First, That the king should come to London. Secondly, That the militia of London should be authorized to raise forces for the defence of the city. Thirdly, That power be given to the same militia to chuse a general. Fourthly. That the eleven members impeached by the army, (hould resume their seats in parliament.

THE citizens armed with these powers, proceed to raise forces under the command of Waller, Massey and Pointz; but they were very much discouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army upon Hounflow-heath, where the two speakers appeared with their maces, and fuch members as accompanied them, viz. the earls of Northumberland, Salifbury, and Kent, the lord Grey of Werke, the lord Howard, the lord Wharton, the earl of Mulgrave, and the lord Say, and fix lords more, with the earl of Manchester, their speaker; and about a hundred members of the house of commons, with their speaker, Mr. Lenthal. Besides, the borough of Southwark was generally for the arto London, my, which was now marching towards London,

Which marches

to reftore the members who fled to them, to 1647. their places and authorities. Part of the army feized upon the block-house at Gravesend, and block'd up the city by water towards the East. and the general with the rest of the army, towards the West. Upon this, the aldermen and common-council of the city deserted their three generals, and fent to Fairfax for a pacification; which he granted them upon these conditions. First, That they should desert the parliament then fitting, and the eleven members. Secondly, That they should recal their late declaration. Thirdly. That they should relinquish their present militia. Fourthly, That they should deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London. Fifthly, That they should disband all the forces they had lately raised, and do all things else, which were necessary for the publick tranquillity.

The next day, Cromwell march'd to West-And reminster, and placed the guards in the court, in stores the hall, and even at the doors of the two houses: them to and a little after, general Fairfax conducted the Seats. several members who had sled to the army, to their seats in parliament; where they annulled all the acts and orders, which had passed since the 26th of July. Two days after, the army marched, as it were, in triumph thro' the city, the general leading the avant-guard, major-general Skippon the main body, and Cromwell the rear-guard; and all the soldiers having laurel-branches in their hats. After this pompous march, the army was distributed into quarters, in Kent, Survey, and Essex; and thus they sur-

rounded the city.

THE city being subdued, and the parliament Factions and army seemingly reconciled, there now arose arise in differences in the army it self. The agitators no the army. longer inclin'd to an agreement with the king,

were

They are jealous of Crom-well's treating with the

king.

were very much disturbed at some of the great officers, who were still for promoting such an agreement: And many in the army complained of the intimacy of Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, with the chief officers of the army, declaring to the council of agitators, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them, when they were shut to those of the army. Cromwell was very uneafy at these discourses, and informed the king's party of them, telling Alba burnham and Berkley, " That if he were an ho-" nest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his Intentions; and if he were not, nothing was enough; and therefore he conjured them, " as they tendered the king's fervice, not to " come so frequently to his quarters, but to fend " privately to him; the suspicion of him being grown to great that he was afraid to lie in grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in "them himself". Thus the agitators, who were supposed to be first set up by Cromwell to oppose the parliament's design of disbanding, began to be very troublesome to him, and were at length fo fet against him, that he was forc'd for his own Safety to make his peace with them, by abandoning the king's interest: As we shall see hereafter.

About three weeks after the army entered London, the parliament thought fit to address themselves to the king, in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars concerning the Scots only excepted. His majesty advising with Berkley and Ashburnham, and some others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unsafe for him to treat with the parliament, whilst the army were the masters: And some say, that instructions were given by Cromwell and other officers, That if the king would assent to their proposals, lower than those of the parliament, the ar-

He prevails on the king to reject the parliament's propositions.

my would settle him again in his throne. However it was, the king thought fit to wave the parliament's propositions, or any treaty upon them, and defired a personal treaty upon the proposals of the army. The officers of the army having feen his answer before it was sent, seem'd to be very well pleased with it, and promised to do all they could to procure a personal treaty; and accordingly Cromwell and Ireton, and many of their party in the house, press'd his majesty's desires with great earnestness; but, contrary to their expectations, they met with a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and now thought themselves sure of it; the suspicions of them growing fo strong, that they were look'd upon as betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament. The army likewise, which The arlay then about Putney, were no less diffatisfy'd with my prejutheir proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily in- diced aformation from those that came to them from London; fo that the agitators began to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, and declar'd, "That fince the king had " rejected their proposals, they were no farther en-" gaged to him; but that they were now to confult " their own fafety, and the publick good, and hav-" ing the power devolved upon them by the decisi-" on of the fword, to which both parties had " appeal'd, and being convinc'd that monarchy " was inconfiftent with the good of the nation, " they resolved to use their endeavours to re-" duce the government of England to the form " of a common-wealth". They also defign'd to have feiz'd Alburnham and Berkley, for negotiating the treaty they supposed to have been carried on between the king and Cromwell; and car- The fury rying their fury yet further, were resolved to wrest agitators.

the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called Cromwell and Ireton. These things struck a great terror into these two leaders, so that they thought it necessary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, because most of the great officers were still well affected to the king, and difliked these proceedings of the agitators, whose exorbitant power they hoped by that means to fuppress. But the agitators having notice of the intended rendezvous, and gueffing at the defign of it, us'd their utmost endeavours to prevent it, and refolved before-hand to feize on the person of the king.

By Cromwell's advice the king escape from Hampton-Court.

CROMWELL in the mean time acquainted the king with the danger he was in, and affuring him of his real fervice, protested to him, that it makes his was not in his power to undertake for his fecurity in the place where he now refided. Hereupon the king was refolved to make his escape from Hampton-Court; and some advised him to fecure his person by leaving the kingdom: But to this he objected, that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was unwilling to quit the army till that was over; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagements; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. Several other advices were offer'd him; but he at last resolved to go to the isle of Wight, being And goes very probably, as Ludlow observes, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governour, who was one of the army. Pursuant to this Resolution, the king left Hampton-Court in the night, Berkley and Ashburnham with some others accompanying him; and on the 13th of November they all went over to the ifle of Wight, being

to the ifle of Wight.

being conducted thither by Hammond himself, who 1647. the day before came to wait on his majesty at Titchfield.

CHAP. VII.

From the king's escape from Hampton-Court, and departure to the isle of Wight, to the breaking out of the second civil war.

THE parliament being inform'd of the king's withdrawing himself from Hampton-Court, was in a terrible consternation, and immediately pass'd an ordinance, declaring, "That " it should be confiscation of estate, and loss of " life, for any to harbour, or conceal the king's " person, without giving information to the par-" liament". And being now mostly devoted to the army, they caused some of the most noted Presbyterians houses to be searched; and sent posts to all the ports of the kingdom, "That they " might be shut, and no person be permitted to " embark, lest the king in disguise should trans-" port himself." And a proclamation was published, for the banishing all such as had ever born arms for the king, from the city, or any place within twenty miles of it. But within two days cromquell their fears were all remov'd by Cromwell's inform- acquaints ing the house, "That he had received letters the parlia-" from colonel Hammond, of the king's coming ment with it. " to the isle of Wight, and that he remained there " in Carisbrook-Caftle till the parliament's plea-" fure should be known." He at the same time affur'd them, " That colonel Hammond was fo " honest a man, and so much devoted to their " fervice, that they need not fear his being cor-"rupted

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" rupted by any body." And all this relation he made, fays my lord Clarendon, with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded, that his majesty was where Cromwell desired he should be.

The rife of the levellers. ABOUT this time the agitators of nine regiments of horse, and seven of foot, presented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring;

THAT the people being unequally distributed by counties, cities and boroughs, for e-

" lection of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according

" to the number of Inhabitants.

2. "THAT this present parliament be dis-"folved by the last day of September next.

3. "THAT the people do of course chuse themselves a parliament once in every two

" years. 4. " THAT the power of this, and all other future representatives is inferior only to theirs " who chuse them, and extends, without the con-" fent of any other person, to the enacting, al-" tering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting " and abolishing of offices and courts; to the ap-" pointing, removing, and calling to account, er magistrates and officers of all degrees; to the " making war and peace; to the treating with " foreign states; and generally to whatsoever is " not reserved by those represented to them-" felves." And here they declare, " impressing or constraining any to serve in the war, is against freedom, and not allowed to the " representatives.

"THAT in all laws every person be bound alike; and that tenure, estates, charter, degree, birth, or place, do not confer any exception from the ordinary course of legal proceedings whereunto others are subjected." And

"THAT

"THAT the laws must be equal and good, 1647. " and not destructive to the safety and well-be-

" ing of the people.

"THESE they declar'd to be their native " rights, which they were refolv'd to maintain, " and not to depend, for the fettlement of their " peace and freedom, upon him that intended " their Bondage [meaning the king] and brought " a cruel war upon them." Thus the agitators grew still bolder, and were refolv'd to accomplish their designs; and these with their adherents were now called Levellers, and occasioned great disturbance to the parliament and in the army. as likewise the trial and death of the king. They were call'd Levellers in derifion only, and because they held that no person, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the ordinary course of legal proceedings; but as for what is faid of their being against all degrees of honour or riches, it is utterly false.

THE time for the general rendezvous being come, they who were of this party, to distinguish themselves, appear'd every one with a paper in his hat, with these words written upon it, The rights of England, and the confent of the people; fignifying thereby, that their defign was to abolish, not only monarchy, but also the house of peers, and to establish a pure democracy. This was what colonel Rainsborough, one of their leaders, affifted by Eyre and Scot, went about foliciting from one regiment to another, stirring up the soldiers against Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers. Cromwell was refolved to endeavour the suppres- suppres'd fion of this licence: For which purpose, being by Crome well. accompany'd with divers officers, he with a wonderful briskness and Vivacity, rode up to one of the regiments, which wore the distinguishing marks,

But They are

1647. marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refusing to do, he caus'd feveral of them to be feiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them in the head with his own hand; and then the others hearts failing they fubmitted to him. He order'd one of those whom he had feiz'd to be shot dead upon the place, and deliver'd the rest into the hands of the marshal, and having dispers'd the army to their quarters, wrote an account of his proceedings to the parliament; who being very defirous to have this spirit quell'd in the army, return'd him the thanks of the house.

The parliament offer a treaty with the king, on condition he would first pass four acts.

THE levellers being thus fubdu'd, and the parliament and army being now pretty much of a temper, 'twas agreed, that a personal treaty fhould be offer'd to his majefty, on condition, that as a pledge of his future fincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal affent to four prelimi-The first of which was for investing nary bills. the militia in the two houses: The second, for revoking all proclamations and declarations against the parliament: The third, for making void all fuch titles of honour, as had been conferred by his majesty, fince his leaving the parliament; and that for the future, none should be granted to any person without consent of the parliament: And the fourth, that the houses should have power to adjourn themselves as they should think fit. The Scotch being not included in this treaty, their commissioners sent a large declaration in very high language to the two houses at Westminster, protesting against the sending of the four bills, and preffing for a personal treaty with the king at London, upon fuch propositions as should be agreed on by the advice and consent of the two kingdoms. But the parliament was to be aw'd only by the army; and fo they

they order'd the printer of the Scotch declaration to be committed, and then fent them back an

answer full of reproof and contempt.

BEFORE we see what reception the four bills met with from his majesty, let us observe how matters pass'd in the army fince the late rendezvous. Ludlow, as great an enemy to Cromwell as to the king, gives us the clearest account of the fudden turn of affairs there, which was to the great damage, and even the ruin of the king's interest; whom therefore I shall follow upon this occasion.

HE informs us, that colonel Hammond and A large Mr. Ashburnham had frequent conferences with account the king, who had made such promises to Ham-well's remond, that he express'd his earnest desire, that conciliatithe army might resume their power, and rid on with themselves of the agitators, whose authority, he the Level-faid, he never lik'd. To this end he fent one his quit-Mr. Traughton his chaplain, to the army, to ad- ting the vise them to make use of their late success a- king's Ingainst the agitators; and soon after he earnestly terest. press'd the king to send some of those who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to Fairfax, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton. He also wrote to them himself, "Conjuring them by their en-" gagements, their honour and conscience, to " come to a speedy agreement with the king, and " not to expose themselves to the fantastick gid-" diness of the agitators." Sir John Berkley was appointed by the king, in pursuance of Hammond's advice, to go over to the army; who taking with him Mr. Henry Berkley his cousin, went over from the island with a pass from the governour of Cowes. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. Traughton on his return between Bag shot and Windsor, who inform'd him, F 2

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1647. That he had no good news to carry back to his maeffty, the army having enter'd into new resolutions concerning his person. He had not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "That he was aftonish'd at his de-" fign of going to the army, for that it had been debated amongst the agitators, whether, in jus-" tification of themselves, the king should be " brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himself to be. Sir John however resolv'd to go to the army, and being arriv'd at Windsor, went to the general's quarters, where the officers of the army were affembled. Being admitted, he deliver'd his letters to the general, who receiving them, order'd him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was call'd in, when the general, with some severity in his looks, told him, That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could say nothing to the king's motion about peace, but must refer those matters, and the king's letters to their consideration. Sir John then look'd upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance; but they faluted him very coldly, and shewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, fmil'd with difdain upon it.

Went to his lodging; where having staid two hours without any company, he at last order'd his servant to go out, and see if he could find any of his acquaintance. The servant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his master, that he would meet him in such a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkley in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, said, "You know, that I and my friends engag'd ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if "the

"the rest were not so, we were abus'd: That " fince the tumults in the army, we did mif-" trust Cromwell and Ireton; whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we mis-" trust neither, and that we are resolved, not-" withstanding our engagement, to destroy the " king and his posterity; to which purpose Ire-" ton has made two propositions this afternoon; " one, that you should be fent prisoner to Lon-" don; the other, that none should speak with " you upon pain of death; and I do now hazard " my life by doing it. The way defign'd to " ruin his majesty, is to send eight hundred of " the most disaffected in the army to secure " his person, and then to bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done " in ten days; and therefore if the king can " escape, let him do it as he loves his life".

SIR John being exceedingly troubled at this relation, ask'd his friend the reason of this change, seeing the king had done all things in compliance. with the army, and the officers were become superior fince the last Rendezvous. Whereupon he gave him this account: " That though one of " the mutineers was fhot to death, eleven more " imprison'd, and the rest in appearance over-" awed, yet they were so far from being so in " reality, that two thirds of the army had been " fince with Cromwell and Ireton, to let them " know, that though they were fure to perish in " the enterprize, they would leave nothing un-" attempted to bring the whole army to their " sense; and if all fail'd, they would make a di-" vision in the army, and unite with any who " would affift them in the destruction of their opposers. That Cromwell and Ireton reason'd " thus with themselves, If the army divide, the " greatest part will join with the Presbyterians, F 3 and

" and will most probably prevail to our ruin; or we shall be oblig'd in such a manner to apply our selves to the king, as rather to beg than offer " any assistance; which if the king shall give, and be so fortunate as to prevail; if he shall then co pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more u than we can assure our selves of: And there-" upon concluded, That if they could not bring the army to their sense, it was best to comply with them, a division being utterly destructive to " both." In pursuance therefore of this resolution, lieutenant-general Cromwell employ'd all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was most fet against the king; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on such occasions, That the glory of this world had so dazled his eyes, that he could not discern clearly the great works that the lord was doing. He also fent comfortable messages to the prisoners he had feiz'd at the late rendezvous, affuring them, that nothing should be done to their prejudice; and by these and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

SIR John Berkley returning to his lodging, difpatch'd his cousin to the isle of Wight with two letters; one to colonel Hammond, giving a general account, and doubtful Judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the forementioned general officer, and a most earnest supplication to his majesty, to think of nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning he fent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had letters and instructions to him from the king: But Cromwell returned him answer by the messenger, That he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; affuring him, that be would serve the king as long as he could do it with-

without his own ruin; but defir'd, that it might not be expected, that he should perish for his

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Thus we have feen the motives, that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's interest. And much the same account is given by Salmonet, who will not at all be suspected of being partial to Cromwell: So that if he hitherto acted fincerely in his defign to ferve the king, as is most probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, ascribe to him more refin'd and more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the art of diffimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a diffembler may fometimes be in earnest; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was supposed to be carried on between him and the king, by stipulating fuch honours and advancements for himself and family, as fuch a fervice (viz. reftoring the king to his throne) might reasonably lay claim to.

AND here I cannot omit another account, that Story of is given by some of Cromwell's falling off from the king's the king, and deserting his interest. They tell deceiving Cromwell. us, that there was a report, that Cromwell made a private article with the king, That if his majesty clos'd with the army's proposals, he should be made earl of Essex, knight of the garter, and first captain of the horse-guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland. Other honours and employments were likewise stipulated for Gromwell's family and friends. But the king was fo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the proposal, he sent her a letter to acquaint her, That though he affented to the army's proposals, yet if by so doing he could procure peace, it would be easier

1647. easier then to take off Cromwell, than now be was the head that govern'd the army. Cromwell, who had his spies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon refolv'd never to trust the king more. This indeed is said to have happen'd before the king left Hampton-Court: For upon this they tell us, that Cromwell fearing he could not manage his defigns, if the king were so near the parliament and city as Hampton-Court, gave him private information, that he was in no fafety there, by reason of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he would be more secure in the isle of Wight. Hereupon the king, whilst the parliament and Scotch commissioners were debating his answer to their propositions, made his escape from Hampton-Court; as before related.

WE can fay nothing to the truth of this flory, but leave it to the reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much we may observe, that F. Orleans fays, 'Twas believ'd in France, that the king had deceiv'd Cromwell; though he makes this to be purely the effect of Cromwell's artifice. And the lord Clarendon speaks of Cromwell's complaining that the king could not be trusted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majesty to be nothing but hypocrify and disfimulation, in order to bring about his own defigns. However I shall set down his words. Albburnham and Berkley, fays he, receiv'd many advertisements (which was a little before the king's escape) from some officers with whom they had most convers'd, and who would have been glad that the king might have been restor'd by the army, for the preferments, which they expected might fall to their share, " That Cromwell and "Ireton refolv'd never to trust the king, or do any thing towards his restoration. " And a little

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little after, he fays, That Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complain'd, "That the king could not be trusted, and that " he had no affection or confidence in the army, " but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; " that he had intrigues in the parliament, and " treaties with the Presbyterians of the city, to " raise new troubles; that he had a treaty con-" cluded with the Scotch commissioners to engage " the nation again in blood: And therefore he " would not be answerable, if any thing fell out " amis, and contrary to expectation."

AGREEABLE enough to this account is the re- A remarlation given by the author of the memoirs of the kable diflord Broghill, of a discourse that passed between tween the faid lord and Cromwell, whilft he was in Ire- him and land, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord lord Broghill being in discourse with Cromwell and Ire- Erogbill. ton, fell upon the subject of the king's death: Cromwell said, If he the king had followed his own mind, and had had trusty servants about him, he had fool'd them all: Adding, We had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but something that happen'd drew us off from it. lord Broghill feeing they were both in a good humour, ask'd them, Why, if they were inclin'd to close with him, they had not done it? Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, The reason of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the Scots and Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were strenuously endeavouring to strike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reasonable conditions: But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: What it was he could

1647. could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was fow'd up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head about ten a clock the following night to the Blue-Boar-Inn in Holbourn. where he was to take horse for Dover. The mes. senger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some one in Dover did. We were then at Wind. for; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our spy, Ireton and I resolved to take a trusty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did and set our man at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was fout, but the wicket open, and our man staid to give us notice when any one came with a saddle upon his bead. Ireton and I fat in a box near the wicket, and call'd for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that disguise till ten a clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come; upon which we immediately rose; and when the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with our swords drawn, and told him que quere to search all quho went in and out there; but as he look'd like an honest fellow, we would only search his saddle; which we did, and found the letter we look'd for; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots Presbyterians and the army; that which of them bid fairest for him shou'd have him; that he thought he shou'd close sooner with the Scots than the other. Upon which we speeded to Windfor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately resolv'd to ruin him.

> FOR a conclusion, I shall set down what Dr. Welwood, in his memoirs, fays, concerning this matter. " As every thing, says he, did contribute

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to the fall of king Charles I. so did every thing 1647. contribute to to the rife of Cromwell: And as t there was no defign at first against the king's life, fo it's probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known, he was once in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majesty away from Holmby-house, to have reftor'd him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the fecret had not been like to take vent, by the indifcretion of some about the king; which push'd Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

HOWEVER it was (for these things must still Meeting remain under some consussion) it is certain, as the of officers ord Clarendon observes, that a few days after the resolve to king's departure from Hampton-Court, and after have the t was known he was in the isle of Wight, there king was a meeting of the general officers of the ar- profecumy at Windsor (very probably the same which Ludlow mentions, into which Sir John Berkley was admitted) where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to confider what should now be done with the king: And 'twas resolv'd, That he should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person. This resolution, however, was a great secret, whereof the parliament had not the least notice or suspicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to do what it never defign'd.

THE parliament's commissioners being arriv'd The parin the isle of Wight, presented the four prelimina-liament's ry bills with the propositions on them to his presented majesty; and the next day the Scotch commission to him. ners waited on the king, and entered their protestation to this purpose, "That they had endea-" voured all ways and means with the parliament " of England, for furthering a happy peace; but " having feen the propositions and bills brought

" to his majesty, which they apprehended pre-" judicial to religion, the crown, and the union between the two kingdoms; they therefore, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland, declar-" ed their diffent." The king having no mind to pass the four bills, and gueffing what might thence enfue, began to think of making his escape. And general Fairfax fent a letter to the house of commons to acquaint them, that there had been fome meeting in the ifle of Wight, with an intention to rescue the king; for which reason he had fent orders to the governor, to have a strict guard upon his majesty's person. Whereupon the parliament agreed, that his excellency be required to take special care, for securing the king's person in the castle of Carisbrook, and that Hammond should obey his further orders and directions.

He refuses to pass them ..

THE commissioners of the parliament were by this time come back with the king's answer, which imported, That he had refus'd to pass the bills, or to make a composure in that way; but had barely offer'd a personal treaty. Upon this there followed a long debate in the house, and many fevere and bitter speeches were made against the Cromwell's king. Among the rest, Cromwell declar'd, " That

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Speech in "the king was a man of great parts and great the house a understanding; but withal so great a dissem-" bler, and fo false a man, that he was not to be "trusted." And thereupon he rehears'd several particulars whilst he was in the army: That the king wish'd such and such things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: That whilft he professed with all solemnity, that he refer'd himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only on their wisdom and counsel, for settling and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he at the same time had secret treaties with the Scotch commissioners, bow be might embroil

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embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament: Concluding, " That they might trou-" ble themselves no further with sending messages " or farther propositions to the king, but that " they might enter upon those counsels, which " were necessary towards the settlement of the " kingdom, without having further recourse to " him." Those of his party seconded this motion with new reproaches upon the person of the king; and after feveral days spent in passionate debates on this matter, the house of commons voted, First, " That they will make no further Votes of " applications or addresses to the king. Secondly, no more "That no addresses or applications be made to addresses to the " the king by any person whatsoever, without king. " leave from the parliament. Thirdly, That they " will receive no more messages from the king; " and that no person do presume to bring any " meffage from him to the parliament, or any " other person. Fourthly, That the person or " persons who shall make breach of these orders, " fhall incur the penalty of high-treason." And

to these votes the lords soon after agreed.

SOME give a larger account of the speeches of A further Cromwell and Ireton in this grand debate. They account fay, that Ireton was the first that spake with speeches warmth, and that Cromwell seconded him; and of cromthat from the king's refusing to sign the four acts, well and they infer'd, "That he had sufficiently declared Ireton. " himself for arbitrary government:" and alledged, "That he was no longer the protector, " but the tyrant of his people; and consequently, " that they were no longer his subjects; and that " they ought to govern without him; that their " long patience had avail'd nothing; and that it " was expected from their zeal to their country, " that they should take such resolutions, as were "worthy of an affembly with whom the nation " had

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" had intrusted their safety." They add, that as these two persons were not only members of the house, but also chiefs in the army; after they had first spoken under the former character, they spake again in the other, to this effect: That they were well persuaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were assured, that without suffering themselves to be amused any longer, they would defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of those valiant men, that were enroll'd under their banners, who by their mouths gave them assurances of their fidelity, which nothing could shake. But have a care, faid they, that you do not give the army, who sacrifice themselves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to suspect you of betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own safety, and that of the nation, in their own strength, which they defire to owe to nothing, but to the fleadiness and vigour of your resolutions. This was a bold speech, if true; and 'tis farther said, that Cromwell, at the conclusion of it, clapt his hand upon his fword.

Thus the parliament and army was united against the king; and now colonel Rainsborough, one of the chief of the Levellers, was appointed admiral of the sleet; and two or three members of the house of commons of that party were sent down to the head-quarters at Windsor, with orders, to discharge from custody captain Reynolds, and some others, who had been imprisoned by the officers of the army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themselves were now doing; and to exhort the officers to use their utmost endea-

vours towards a speedy settlement.

But notwithstanding this conjunction of the parliament and army, they could not enjoy their power and authority without great disturbance and opposition. The votes of non-addresses had exceedingly

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ceedingly enrag'd the Presbyterians as well as the royal party; and the people in general began to be very uneafy and discontented. Taxes and impositions were continually increased, and became almost an insupportable burden to the nation, and vet there was no likelihood of coming to a fettlement for the ease of these grievances; and most believed there would never be any till the king was restor'd. Upon this, the people in many parts of the kingdom began to exert themselves in the behalf of their fovereign, who, however closely confin'd in the isle of Wight, still held a correspondence in England, and had intelligence from thence. Several petitions were brought to the parliament by great numbers of people, in a tumultuous manner, for a personal treaty with the king; of which the chief were those of Surry, Esex and Kent: And in many places, the people began to think of taking up arms for compassing these defigns. Besides, the Scots, pursuant to their treaty with the king, were making all possible preparations for raising an army; wherein the Presbyterians and Cavaliers join'd, tho' with different views; and the Presbyterians in England, discours'd freely of great hopes from the other kingdom. Thus the dark clouds began to gather apace, and in a fhort time a fecond civil war infefted the whole nation.

In the mean time, as Ludlow tells us, lieute- Cromwell's nant-general Cromwell procur'd a meeting of fe-manageveral leading men of the Presbyterian and Inde- ment pendent parties, both members of parliament and on. ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two interests: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the differences and animofities of these two prevailing parties, one of which would endure no superior, the other no equal; so that this meeting came to nothing. ANO-

1648. He contrives a conference begrandees and common wealth'smen.

ANOTHER conference was by his contrivance held in King-fireet, between those call'd the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom Cromwell was the head, deliver'd themselves with tween the some uncertainty, and would not declare their opinions either for a monarchical, aristocratical or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves or for the nation, according as providence should direct: Whilft the commonwealth's-men would have it, that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for the nation, and us'd feveral arguments to confirm their opinion, recommending at the same time the establishment of an equal commonwealth; notwithstanding which the lieutenant-general profess'd himself for the present to be unresolv'd; and the next day paffing by Ludlow in the house, he told him, That he was indeed convinced of the defireableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it.

He courts the commonwealth party.

CROMWELL, however, in these times of difficulty and danger, thought fit to court the commonwealth party, and to that end invited fome of them to confer with him at his chamber. The next time he came to the house of commons. he inform'd Ludlow of it, who freely told him, That he knew how to cajole and give them good words, when he had occasion to make use of them. Whereupon with some passion he said, They were a proud fort of people and only considerable in their own conceits. At another time he complained to Ludlow, as they were walking in the Palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, baving made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adbering to a just cause: But his greatest trouble he said was, That many who were engag'd in the same cause with him had entertain'd a jealousy and sufpicion picion of bim; which he affirm'd to be a great difcouragement to him. This shews, that notwithstanding his late reconciliation with those call'd Levellers, they still suspected he was not true to their cause; and yet, that he found himself under a necessity of keeping as fair with them as posfible

TUMULTS and infurrections still increasing, and all things feeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewise necessary to preserve a good understanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the house of lords, to assure them of the army's fubmiffion, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houses, and by their order. Being likewise afraid of the city, he propos'd in the house of commons to unite the interests of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he faid) invincible, by making them inseparable. So a treaty was set on Heendeafoot, in which indeed the army was not mention- vours a ed, only that the two regiments that had come union beinto the city upon some disturbance there, should parliabe withdrawn; but the treaty only mentioned the ment, artwo houses, and the city: And this conjunction my, and was sufficient for Cromwell at present; for he there- city. by prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royalists; and besides, the power which the army had in the house, was at this time sufficient to secure the city to them. But let us now see, how the second civil war was manag'd, and the great share of fuccess our lieutenant-general had therein.

1648.

CHAP. VIII.

The second civil war, and Cromwell's actions in it.

The beginning of civil war.

THE first that actually took up arms, were the Welfb; and this they did under the conthe second duct of major-general Laughorn, colonel Poyer and colonel Powel, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's fide: but being now to be disbanded by order of the council of war, they refus'd to obey; and the better to secure themselves, declar'd for the king, and acted by commission and powers from the prince of Wales. Major-general Stradling, and other royalists, joining with Laughorn, he soon had the appearance of a confiderable army, which very fhortly enabled him to poffess himself of the town and castles of Pembroke and Tenby; at which time Chepstow Castle was likewise surpriz'd by Sir Nicholas Kemish. The preparations in Kent for a war were not less formidable; for great numbers in that county rendezvousing near Rochester, they chose Goring earl of Norwich, who was then with them, for their general; and they foon receiv'd a confiderable addition to their strength, by great numbers of apprentices and reform'd officers and foldiers daily flocking from London to their quarters; which so frightned the two houses, that they presently restor'd to the city their militia; and Skippon being re-admitted to the command of their forces, they interrupted the communication with Kent, by placing guards upon the passages of the The increase of the Kentish forces so animated the seamen, that a considerable part of the navy, with captain Batten, sometime vice-admiral to the earl of Warwick, revolted from the parliament, and put themselves under the power

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of prince Charles. But the fiercest storm was 1648. threatned from the preparations in the North, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and others of the king's party, having furpriz'd the strong town of Berwick, and Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Thomas Glembam, that of Carlifle, had rais'd a confiderable body to join with the Scots, who were now about to enter England with a powerful army. Besides this, the earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Francis his brother, the earl of Peterborough and some other persons of quality, having form'd a party of about five hundred horse with some foot, for his majesty's service, appear'd with them near Kingfon, and declar'd against the parliament. Several castles were seiz'd and declared for the king; and among the rest Pomfret was artfully surpriz'd by major Morrice: And there was scarce a county in England, where there was not some association forming to appear in arms for the king.

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THESE vigorous preparations for a war became Proceedvery formidable to those at Westminster; who ings of hereupon appointed a committee of fafety for the the parliacommonwealth, which daily fat at Derby house, thereupand confifted of twenty persons, viz. seven lords, on. and thirteen of the house of commons, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was one. This committee had power given them to suppress all tumults and infurrections, and for that end to raise forces as they faw occasion. And then for the more speedy suppression of the several insurrections, the army was divided, and small parties fent to those places where the royalists were weakest. Fairfax, Lambert, and Cromwell commanded the rest, every one marching a several way; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert into the north, and Cromwell into Wales, who was afterwards to march into

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the north and join Lambert.

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Several infurrections quell'd.

THE earl of Holland and duke of Buckingham were foon defeated by a party of horse and foot that was fent after them, under the command of Sir Michael Livefey. The earl was taken prisoner; the duke, after losing his brother, the lord Francis, narrowly escap'd, and went over to The earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards prince Charles, who with the revolted ships had blocked up the mouth of the Thames, where he lay some time in expectation, prefuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: But perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was miftaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the fail he could for the coast of Holland. The castles of Deal and Sandwich were reduced by colonel Rich; and many of the revolted ships not finding things according to their expectation, returned to the obedience of the parliament. the mean time general Fairfax routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, and drove the lord Goring with his men into Effex; where, tho' join'd by the lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lifle, and others, Fairfax forc'd them to shut themselves up in Colchester, where he besieg'd them, and lay before the place a long time; but having compell'd them at last to surrender upon such conditions as he would allow them, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lifle were shot to death by fentence of the council of war, and the lords Goring and Capel, were fent prisoners to Windsorcastle. But passing by these things, as not so immediately concerning our present design, let us fee what share of glory lieutenant-general Gromwell acquir'd by his fuccesses in this war.

being fent the king's party in Wales. In order to effect this, into Wales

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he fent colonel Horton thither before him, with about three thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, he himself following with as many forces as could dispatches be spared from the army. Being within three or fore him. four days march of the colonel, he received information, that Laughorn with an army of near eight thousand, had engag'd him at St. Fagon's in Glamorganshire; that upon the first charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royalifts, where the best of Laughorn's men were, with such Who defury and resolution, that they oblig'd them to feats give way; which those in the rear, being mostly Laugnew-rais'd men, perceiving, they began to shift my. for themselves: Upon which Horton's men prosecuted their advantage with fo much vigour and fuccess, that the whole body of their enemies was foon routed, fifteen hundred flain, and near three thousand taken prisoners.

UPON this Cromwell hastens to join him; and cromwell in his march comes before Chepstow, where they besieges drew out some forces against him: But colonel Chepftow. Pride's men fell on so furiously that they gain'd the town, and beat the foldiers into the castle; which being strongly fortify'd, and well provided, Cromwell fent to Briftol for some great guns, and hastening into Pembrokesbire, left colonel Ewer to profecute the fiege; who having made a breach on the 25th of May, resolutely attack'd and carried the castle sword in hand; Sir Nicholas Kemish, who commanded there, being flain, and an hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

CROMWELL being arrived in Pembrokeshire, Storms first ordered the storming of Tenby with colonel Tenby. Overton's regiment, and part of Sir W. Constable's, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Read; and so after several furious assaults, the town G 3 first.

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first, and then the castle surrendered upon mercy. LAUGHORN and Powel, after their defeat by colonel Horton, escap'd to Pembroke, which Poyer kept for them. Here they thought themfelves fafe, when Cromwell appearing, befieg'd them himself in person in that place: But that dreadful name did not fo discourage them, but that being fully perfuaded that the stopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had so much work on their hands elsewhere, they resolved to stand out, and defended themselves long enough to have wearied out almost any other man, as little us'd to be baffled as Cromwell. On the contrary, the rumour of the Scotch invasion daily increasing, animated the lieutenant-general to employ all his skill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. garrison within, as has been said, was strong and resolute, and the place well fortify'd, which however he was refolved to attempt by ftorm; and falling on with fingular courage, met with gallant refistance: After which, not thinking it adviseable to expose his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not fo well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the small quantity of provisions they had in the town and castle; and then, divisions began to arise amongst them, which at length grew to that height, that the foldiers were ready to mutiny against their commanders; crying out, We shall be starved for two or three mens pleasures, better it were that we should throw them over the walls. Accordingly, Cromwell order'd ftrict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running out; which order being well obferv'd, they were compell'd at length to defire a parley, and on the 11th of July furrender'd the town

town and castle to him upon articles. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, and some other officers, surrender'd themselves prisoners at mercy. Sir Charles Kemish, Sir Henry Stradling, and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within fix weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the rest to have liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plunder'd. The fick and wounded were to be taken care of; the towns-men not to be plunder'd, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and together with the town and castle, the arms, ammunition and provisions were to be deliver'd up to lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the use of the parliament. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel were afterwards condemn'd by fentence of a court martial; but having the fayour to draw lots which of them should die, the other two to be spar'd, the lot fell upon colonel Poyer, who was accordingly shot to death in Covent-garden.

ABOUT the time that Pembroke was reduc'd, The scots duke Hamilton enter'd England with an army of invade about twenty thousand Scots, who were farther firengthen'd by the accession of about five thoufand English, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, very violent in their opposition one to the other; the rigid Presbyterians, who fo ador'd the Covenant, in the strictest sense of the letter, that they would not depart from the most rigid clause in it, and were utterly against having any thing to do with the Cavaliers in this expedition; and these were headed by the marquess of Argyle: And the Hamiltonian party, who were in effect for restoring the king without any terms, tho' at the same time, in order to the more easy compassing of their designs, they pretended a great veneration for the same Covenant. Now,

tho' the former was a strong party, and their number very great; yet the others had manag'd fo dexteroufly in getting fuch elections of members for the parliament, as might enable them to carry their point, that when it came to a trial in that affembly, the anti-covenanters carry'd all before them; so that instead of the marquis of Argyle, the duke of Hamilton, who was the chief of this latter party, was appointed general of their army, all the inferior officers being of the fame mold and principle; infomuch that the pulpits, which before had proclaimed this war, now accompany'd the army that was marching into England, with their curfes.

Cromwell marches against them.

THE house of commons receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declar'd them to be enemies, and order'd-lieutenant-general Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, Cromwell march'd towards the North with all his power; and fent to major-general Lambert, desiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and join'd him. Lambert therefore skilfully endeavour'd, rather to harrass the Scotch army than to fight it; and chose rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his task with them much the easier, by reason of their several unseasonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminish'd, and often separated to their great disadvantage; all which was owing either to dark defigns in the army, divisions, or weak management.

WHILST Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treason was fram'd against him by major Huntingdon beforementioned, with the advice of some members of both him to no houses, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parlia-

A charge of hightreason fram'd against purpose.

parliament, and army, to advance himself. But 1648. it being manifest, as Ludlow observes, that the preferring fuch an accufation at that time, was chiefly design'd to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more eafily prevail against them; the parliament thought it most adviseable to dis-

countenance any thing of that nature.

To proceed: Cromwell having join'd Lambert, He defeats both armies met on the 17th of August, near the Scots Preston in Lancashire. The English in the Scotch and other army had the honour of the van, and for a time places. engag'd Cromwell's men with much bravery; but were at last so vigorously press'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a pass, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilst they fent to the duke for fuccour; which he not fending, they began to shift for themselves; tho' Langdale afterwards declar'd, That if one thousand foot had been fent to him, he verily believed he should have gained the day; and Cromwell himself acknowledg'd, That he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did. The Scots perceiving the disorder their English friends were put into, it made such an impression upon them, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner; but were so closely pursu'd by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners, and many were slain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewife taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horse fled towards Lancaster, and were pursu'd near ten miles with great execution.

THE duke march'd away in the night, with about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and Cromwell follow'd him with about three thoufand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse

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and dragoons, killing and taking feveral in the way; but by the time the rest of his army was come up, the duke recover'd Wiggan, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had some skirmishing with the enemy, who the next morning march'd towards Warrington, and made a stand at a pass, which for many hours was disputed with great resolution on both sides: But at length Cromwell beat them from their standing, kill'd about one thousand of them, and took about two thousand prisoners. He pursu'd them home to Warrington town, where they posfefs'd themselves of the bridge; but Cromwell coming thither, lieutenant-general Bayley defir'd to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c. which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thousand compleat arms and as many prisoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruin'd; who with his remaining horse march'd towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd feveral; and Cromwell fent post to the lord Grey, Sir H. Cholmeley, and Sir Ed. Roade, to gather all together with speed for the pursuit of the enemy. And so duke Hamilton being press'd upon by the country, fled at last to Uxeter in Staffordshire; where, with about three thousand horse which he had with him, he was taken, and fent prifoner to Windsor Castle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occasion'd so much terror, was routed and defeated; and what is most remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Gromwell, with an army amounting to scarce above a third part of the Scots in number,

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if they had been all together; the conduct of 1648. this general, and the goodness of his troops, making amends for the smallness of the number. which was not diminish'd half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the English under Langdale had been beaten. And though indeed the circumstances of this victory are variously related by historians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to Cromwell. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only some of their horse, which had been quarter'd most backward, made haste to carry news to their country, of the ill fuccess of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the most part, taken by the activity of the country or the horse that pursu'd them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his men, who continu'd with him till they found it fafest to disperse themselves, was discover'd; and being taken prisoner was convey'd to the castle of Nottingham, from whence afterwards he had the good fortune to escape.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell having thus Marches defeated the Scots under duke Hamilton, refolv'd against to profecute the advantage, by marching with all Monroe. possible speed against Monroe, who was come into England, as a referve to the duke, with above fix thousand horse and foot, and had march'd almost to the borders of Lancashire: But having notice given him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking he should be able to stand before him, who but just before had defeated an army fo much exceeding his own, he made what hafte he could back into Scotland.

CROMWELL having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eas'd the North in particular of that grievous burden they groan'd

the Scotch army, refolve to profecute his victory to the utmost, by entering into Scotland it self, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatned any surther disturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for notwithstanding duke Hamilton's deseat, his brother the earl of Lanrick still bore all the sway in the council; and the troops which Monroe had rais'd for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, which the sew forces rais'd by Argyle were not sufficient to oppose. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, 'tis certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all possible haste

Reduces
Carlifle
and Berwick.

kingdom.

CROMWELL with his victorious army continuing his march towards Scotland, in his way reduc'd Carlifle and Berwick to their former obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on composition. Being just ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and order'd proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them should force from the Scotch people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they should behave themselves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any. As he enter'd Scotland, he declar'd, "That he came with his army to " free the kingdom from a force, which it was " under from malignant men, who had forc'd the " nation to break the friendship with their bre-" thren of England who had been so faithful to " them: That it having pleas'd God to defeat the army under duke Hamilton, who endeavour'd ce to

to bid him welcome at his entrance into the

Enters Scotland and publishes a declaration.

" to engage the nations in each other's blood, 1648. " he was come thither to prevent any further " mischief, and to remove those from authori-" ty who had us'd their power so ill; and that " he hop'd he should in very few days return " with an affurance of the brotherly affection of " that kingdom to the parliament of England, " which did not defire in any degree to invade " their liberties, or infringe their privileges." Upon this the earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian party withdrew from Edinburgh; and they who continu'd there were refolv'd to comply with Argyle, who they now faw could protest them.

CROMWELL march'd directly for Edin- Marches burgh, and in his way was met by many of the to Edin-Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of burgh. estates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy atchievements; acknowledging that his presence would conduce much to the compoling of the distractions of the kingdom. Be- His reing thus conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis ception there. of Argyle, and the rest that came to meet him, he was receiv'd there with all the folemnity and respect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quarter'd about, and supply'd with all provisions the country could afford; and himfelf was lodg'd in the earl of Murrey's house, where reforted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provoft, with feveral eminent citizens, came likewise to welcome him thither, and present their fervice to him. Thus the Scotch Presbyterians, who lately look'd upon the Independent party as the worst of their enemies, now own'd and embrac'd this Sectarian army (as they before call'd it) as their best friends and deliverers.

LIEU-

1648. S He difpossesses the Hamiltonians.

LIEUTENANT-general Cromwell had not been long at Edinburgh, before he demanded of the committee of estates, that they would feelude from all publick trufts, all who had any hand in, or did in the least promote duke Hamilton's late invasion: To which the committee gave a fatisfactory answer. Several other demands were likewise made by him, with which the committee comply'd; and he referv'd liberty for the parliament of England, to make such further demands, as they should think requisite. Whilst he staid with them, the committee sent an order and command to Monroe to disband his troops; which when he feem'd refolv'd not to do, he foon perceiv'd that Cromwell must be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the orders of the committee.

He is releave fome forhim.

CROMWELL having thus finish'd what he quested to came about, began to prepare for his return to England; but before he left them, the commitces behind tee fearing some new disturbance might arise after the departure of the English army, requested him, that he would leave fome forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any insurrections; promifing, that when they had rais'd a fufficient force for their own defence, they would dismiss them, and fend them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed major-general Lambert, with three regiments of horse, for the said service.

Is magnificently treated.

. MATTERS having been thus concerted to the fatisfaction of both parties, the Scots invited Cromwell and the chief officers of his army to the castle of Edinburgh, whither they were all conveyed in coaches, and were magnificently treated at a banquet prepar'd for them; and at their departure, they were faluted by all the cannon of the castle, and many vollies of small shot. On the

the 16th of October, Cromwell left Edinburgh, 1648. being conducted feveral miles on his way by the marquis of Argyle and many others of the Scotch And renobility; and at their parting, great demonstra-turns for England. tions of affection pass'd betwixt them. Soon after, the committee of estates sent letters to the parliament of England, acknowledging, "That " they were sensible of the benefit to Scotland, a-" gainst the enemies of both nations, by the com-" ing thither of the forces under lieutenant-gene-" ral Cromwell, and major-general Lambert; and " that the deportment of the officers and foldiers " had been so fair and civil, that they trusted " by their carriage the malignants would be much " convinc'd and disappointed, and the amity of " both kingdoms strengthen'd and confirm'd; " which they, on their part, should likewise stu-" dy to preserve."

CROMWELL arriving at Newcastle with his Arrives at army, was nobly treated there, and welcom'd Newcastle, with great guns, ringing of bells, and other re- and fends joycings. From hence he bends his course di- inforce rectly to Carlifle, having first order'd some forces the siege for strengthening the siege of Pontefract or Pom- of Pomfret-Castle. This place, though not very great, fret. was very confiderable for its ftrength, but most remarkable for the valour of those who defended it, whereby it became famous at this time all over the kingdom. The garrison consisted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horse, all bold and resolute men, as appear'd by their actions. One time a party of horse isfuing out of the castle, took Sir Arthur Ingram, and carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thousand five hundred pounds for his ransom, before he could get out again. At another time captain Clayton, and most of his troop were feiz'd upon by them, and made prisoners. They likewise fetch'd

1648.

fetch'd two hundred head of cattle, with many hor. V fes, into the castle, whilst Sir Henry Cholmly lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldest action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one:) One morning before day, there fallied out about forty horse, who hasten'd away to Doncaster, where colonel Rainsborough, who had a commission to command in chief before the castle, then quarter'd. Being come near the town, three of the party leaving their companions without, with great confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for colonel Rainsborough's quarters; which being inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him, from lieutenant-general Cromwell. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their prisoner; but upon his refusal to go filently with them, they run him through with their fwords, so that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his forces then kept guard in the town, these bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the castle in the middle of the day.

Comes thither himself, and leaving Lambert before it marches for London.

To repress these insolent proceedings, Cromwell, immediately after he had settled the rest of the northern parts in peace and quietness, came to the leaguer himself; and having order'd the several posts for a close siege, which put a stop to their thus ranging abroad, he lest major-general Lambert, who was just come out of Scotland, with a strong party before it, to compleat the work, whilst himself took his march directly for London.

'Twas in this his return from the north that he wrote the following letter.

SIR,

"I suppose it is not unknown to you how much the country is in arrear to the garrison of Hull, as likewise how probable it is that the garrison

" garrison will break, unless some speedy course 1648. " be taken to get them money, the foldiers at the " present being ready to mutiny, as not having " money to buy them bread; and without money " the stubborn towns-people will not trust them " for the worth of a penny. Sir, I must beg of " you, that as you tender the good of the coun-" try, so far as the security of that garrison is " mentioned, you would give your affiftance to " the helping of them to their money which the " country owes them. The governour will ap-" ply himself to you either in person or by let-" ter. I pray you do for him herein as in a bu-" finess of very high consequence. I am the more " earnest with you, as having a very deep sense " how dangerous the event may be of their " being neglected in the matter of their pay. I " rest upon your favour herein, and subscribe my " felf,

SIR

Your very bumble servant,

Enottingly, Nov. 25, 1648.

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O. Cromwell.

For my noble friend, Thomas St. Nicholas, Efq;

CHAP. IX.

From the second civil war, to the king's death.

BEFORE we profecute our relation of the proceedings of Cromwell and the army, from his return out of Scotland, to the king's death, it will be necessary to look a little back, and see

don, by reason of the late insurrections, those of

Proceedings in the parliament.

how mattets were carried in the parliament.

Soon after the army was remov'd from Lon-

the secluded members who were in England, ventur'd to return to their former feats, and the Presbyterians began to prevail again in the house; and Gromwell and the other officers who were members of the house, had not been long absent before the common-council of the city thought fit to present a petition to the parliament for a personal treaty with the king, as the only way to restore the nation to a happy peace. This appear'd fo much to be the fense of the city, that the parliament durst not positively reject it; and indeed the greatest part of them did at this time very much defire the fame thing. Hereupon Sir Henry Vane, with the rest of the army-party in the house, were forced to contrive some specious way to delay it, by feeming to confent to it. And fo a committee of the commons being appointed to confer with a committee of the city, about means to provide for the king's fafety during the time of the treaty, the former perplex'd the other with various questions, to which they knew there could be no answer given without first calling another common-council to receive further instructions. By this device, and by starting new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the defir'd delays obtain'd. However, the parliament at last declar'd, "That they would " enter into a personal treaty with his majesty for fettling the peace of the kingdom; and that the treaty should be in the isle of Wight, where his majesty should enjoy honour, free-" dom and fafety." And commissioners were fent from both houses to inform the king, " That the cc parliament defir'd a treaty with his majesty up-" on the propositions tender'd to him at Hamptoncourt,

They re- Prolive upon a per- cc
fonal trea- cc
ty with
the king.

court, and such others as should be presented 1648. " to him."

THEY were no fooner return'd from the ifle of Wight with the king's answer, but the parliament had notice of the defeat of the Scotch army; and Cromwell had written to his friends, "That it would be fuch a perpetual ignominy to cromwell

"the parliament, that no body abroad or at home writes to would ever give credit to them, if they should his friends

" recede from their former vote and declaration against it. " of no more addresses to the king; conjuring

" them to continue firm in that resolution." But the parliament had made too great a step to go back from what they were now upon; and fince the first motion for a treaty, many absent members reforted to the house and promoted the defign; fo that they were much more numerous than those who labour'd to obstruct it: And so, notwithflanding all opposition, it was declar'd, "That Votes of

" the votes of no-addresses should stand repeal'd; no-ad-"that the treaty should be at Newport; and that dresses rehis majesty should be there with the same free-

" dom, as when he was at Hampton-court; that " the instructions given to colonel Hammond, for

" the more firit confining him, should be recall'd; " and that all whom the king had nam'd, should

" have liberty to repair to him, and remain with "him undisturb'd." Then they nominated five lords and ten of the house of commons to be their commissioners to treat with the king, and order'd them to haften the treaty with all possible expedition: But Sir Henry Vane being one of them, us'd all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, in hopes that Cromwell would finish matters in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual means to obstruct it, What than he was furnished with. Cromwell was very hastened cromwell's well apprized of these proceedings, which made return to

H 2

him London.

1648. him think, that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to restrain the Presbyterians, who ceas'd not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevail'd with to tarry and finish that only difficult work which remain'd, viz. the reducing Pomfret-caftle; but leaving it to Lambert, continued his march for London, as before related.

FORTY days were appointed for the treaty; which being expir'd, and all then thinking the treaty was ended, the commissioners received new orders and instructions to enlarge it fourteen days longer, and after that to continue it four days more, and last of all one day more: After which the commissioners returned; and whilst their report was under confideration in the house, the large remonstrance of the army was brought from the head-quarters, which was now at Windfor, to the house of commons; in which they defired,

prefent ftrance to

The army " That the parliament would lay afide all fur-" ther proceedings in this treaty, and return to their large " their vote of no-addresses; that the king might " come no more to government, but be brought the house. " to justice, as the capital cause of all the evils in the kingdom; that a day might be fet for " the prince and the duke of York, to appear

" and answer to such things as might be laid to "their charge; and if they fail'd herein, they might be declar'd traitors: That an end might

" be put to this parliament, and new represen-" tatives of the people chosen, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation:

" That no king might be hereafter admitted, but " upon election of, and in trust for the people, " &c." In conclusion, they press these things,

" as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, because from an army,

and so fervants, when their masters are fervants,

er and trustees for the kingdom."

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THIS remonstrance put the house into a great 1648. confusion; but that which occasion'd the greatest consternation, was the news from the isle of Great con-Wight, that Hammond was discharged, and colo-tween the nel Ewer had carried away the king to Hurst-ca-parliafile. Upon this, the house, which was then in ment and the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, army. immediately defifted, and voted, " That the car-" rying the king to Hurst-castle, was without " their advice and consent;" and sent a letter to the general, "That the orders and instructions " to colonel Ewer were contrary to those given " to colonel Hammond; and therefore it was the " pleasure of the house, that he should recal " those orders, and that colonel Hammond should " again resume the care of the king's person." But the general (who hitherto agreed in every thing with the army) in return, demanded the arrears due to the army; and declar'd, That unless there were present money sent for that purpose, he should be obliged to remove the army nearer to London. At the same time the army fent a new declaration to the house, in pursuance of their late remonstrance; which the house refus'd to take into confideration; and some resolute members moved, "That the army might " be declared traitors, if they prefumed to march " nearer London than they were at present; and " that an impeachment of high-treason might be " drawn up against the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to Lon- The army don, and quarter'd at White-hall; and other of- marches ficers with their troops in Durham-bouse, the to Lon-Meuse, Covent-garden, and St. James's; and to supply the present necessity, and prevent all inconveniencies, they fent to the city for forty thoufand pounds to be iffued out without delay for the army. H 3

NoT-

1648. Notwith-**Standing** which the commons vote the king's concesfions to be ground tor peace.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the party in the house who were friends to the treaty, resolved still to exert themselves; upon which there followed a violent struggle between them and those on the contrary side, which continu'd a whole day and night together: And about five in the morning, December 5, they first put the question, Whether the question should be put? and cara fufficient ried it by a hundred and forty voices against a hundred and four; so that they pass'd the grand question, and voted without dividing, That his majesty's concessions to the propositions upon the treaty, were sufficient grounds for the parliament to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. And to prevent any after-claps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next morning.

Upon army scifes on feveral members, and purges the

THE officers and army finding the parliament which the thus resolute in opposing their designs, and that their coming into the city was not a fufficient check upon them, refolv'd now to exert themfelves to purpose. Accordingly some regiments of horse and foot being sent to Westminster, they fet guards upon all the avenues to the parliamenthouse, and seized upon one and forty of the members, as they were entering. And as they made prisoners of these, so about an hundred more were denied entrance into the house; whereupon the rest of the Presbyterian party being somewhat dismay'd at the treatment of their fellow-members, declin'd coming to the house, leaving it to the possession of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the most part officers of the army, were disposed to do every thing according to the direction of their leaders.

THE army having thus purged the house from all they either knew or suspected to be enemies to their defigns, lieutenant-colonel Axtel came in, and prefented to the remaining members the proposals of the army, setting forth, "That they " had for a long while fadly beheld and tafted in " their proceedings, the miserable effects of coun-" fels divided and corrupted by faction, and per-" fonal interest; and defiring, that all faithful " members would acquit themselves by a pro-" testation of their not concurring in the late " proceedings, and would then speedily and vi-" goroufly proceed to take order for the execu-" tion of Justice."

THE night after this interruption was given to Cromwell the house, lieutenant-general Cromwell arrived in arrives, and retown, and lay at White-hall; and the next day ceives the taking his place in parliament, he had the hearty thanks of thanks of the house given him for his great and the house. faithful services perform'd for the nation; which he receiv'd with the greatest appearance of humility (as he was used to do) not taking to himfelf the least of all those great things performed by him, but ascribing them wholly to God, the giver of all victory.

CROMWELL, tho' absent, is generally sup- He is supposed to have influenc'd in all the late proceed-posed to ings, and to be the chief promoter of them. 'Tis chiefhand faid, that at the leaguer before Pomfret, he in- in the duc'd all the regiments under him to petition a- late progainst the treaty, and for justice on the king; that ceedings. 'twas by his advice and direction that the remonftrance of the army was drawn up and presented to the house; and some say, that 'twas he that fent colonel Ewer to remove the king to Hurst-'Tis certain, that both he and his fon-inlaw Ireton had a very great influence upon the general, and could manage him almost in every H 4

1648. thing as they pleas'd. However it was, Gromwell, upon his arrival, declar'd at White-ball, and other places, That he had not been acquainted with the design (of the army's interrupting the house); yet fince it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

Votes of non.addresses refum'd.

THE remnant of the house of commons immediately renew'd their votes of Non-addresses to the king, and annull'd all those that introduced and fucceeded the treaty; and particularly refolv'd, That the king's answer to their propositions was not satisfactory. Soon after it was moved in the house, to proceed capitally against the king, cromwell's when Cromwell flood up and declared, " That if

fpeech upon the motion for trying the king.

" any man moved this upon defign, he should " think him the greatest traitor in the world; " but fince providence and necessity had cast them " upon it, he would pray God to bless their

The king brought to Windfor.

" counfels, tho' he was not provided on the fud-" den to give them counsel." On December 16th, a party of horse was sent over to Hurst-castle, to bring the king to Windfor; who lay at Farnham on the 22d, and was delivered up at Windfor-cafile the day following, colonel Harrison commanding the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war order'd, That nothing should be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonies of state us'd to him should be left off, and his attendance should be with fewer persons and at less charge.

Ordinance for trying him.

NEXT day the committee of the commons. which had been appointed to draw up a charge against the king, reported an ordinance for impeaching Charles Stuart king of England of high-treafon; and for trying him by commissioners to be nominated in the said ordinance; which being agreed to by the commons, was on January 2d, carry'd up to the lords for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons pass'd these remarkable

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markable votes; First, That the people are, under God, the original of all just power. Secondly, That the commons of England, being chosen by, and representing the People, are the supreme Power of the nation. Thirdly, That what soever is enacted or declared for law, by the house of commons assembled in parliament, bath the force of law, tho' the consent of the king and house of peers be not had thereunto.

THEN they proceeded to constitute and erect High a court, to be called the high court of justice, court of which should have authority to try the king, and justice eto examine witnesses for that purpose. The number of the commissioners nominated were a hundred and thirty five, whereof twenty or more had power to proceed. They confifted promiscuously of members of the house, officers of the army, citizens and country gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd, refus'd to act, of which number were the speaker Lenthal, and general Fairfax. those who acted, lieutenant-general Cromwell, and commissary-general Ireton were next the president. The commissioners made choice of serjeant Bradshaw for that office, and nominated Mr. Steel to be attorney-general, Mr. Cook follicitor, Dr. Dorillaus and Mr. Ask to be pleaders against the king; and Westminster-ball was appointed to be the place of trial: In order to which folemn trans- The king action, the king was brought from Windsor to remov'd St. Fames's by colonel Harrison.

On the way Harrison observ'd, that the king to St. was under an apprehension of a fix'd purpose to games's. murder him; and that he let fall some words of the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it: Whereupon he took occasion to asfure him, That he needed not to entertain any such imagination; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; that wbat-

1648.

whatever the parliament refolved to do would be very publick, and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness; and that they would never endure a thought of secret violence. But his majesty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture to proceed against him in the way of a publick trial, before all the people.

Endeavours to fave him.

ALL the king's friends both at home and abroad now give him for loft; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmost efforts to save The states-general order'd their ambassador to represent to the parliament, that the course they were going to take with the king, would be a lafting reproach to the Protestant interest. The prince of Wales, and prince of Orange, daily fent, as agents, the kindred and relations of Cromwell, Ireton, and other judges appointed to try his majefty, with commission to offer any thing, and to make any promifes to fave his life, or at least to put off the judgment: And the prince wrote a very pathetical letter to general Fairfax, in his. father's behalf. The duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford, the earls of Lindsey and Southampton, as is faid, generously offer'd their own heads to fave the king, and would have undertook to suffer in his stead for whatever he had done amis. Almost all the Presbyterian ministers in the city, and very many out of the country, and some even of the Independents, declared against the design in their sermons, in petitions, protestations, and publick remonstrances. the Scots at the same time sent commissioners in great hafte, to declare and protest against this unheard-of attempt.

Conference between Cromwell and the Scotch commissioners about him.

THESE commissioners, as bishop Burnet informs us, came also to Cromwell to argue the matter with him. They highly blam'd indeed

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many of the king's actions, and in a heavy lan- 1648. guid style charg'd him with very great crimes: But still they infifted on that clause in the covenant, whereby they folemnly swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesty's person: Upon which they observ'd, on what conditions Scotland, as well as the parliament of England, had engag'd in the war; and what folemn declarations of their zeal and duty to his majesty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been salse pretences, if now the king was in their hands, they fhould proceed to extremities. Hereupon Cromwell held a long discourse with them concerning the nature of the regal power; and declar'd 'twas his opinion, that a breach of trust in a king, deserved greater punishment than any other crime. And then, as to their covenant, he faid, they fwore to preserve the king's person in defence of the true religion; so that if it was manifest, that the establishing of the true religion was hinder'd by the king, fo that it could not be effected without removing him, then their oaths could not oblige them to the preserving him any longer. He further faid, they were bound by their covenant to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom publick justice had taken place, especially those who suffer'd for joining with Montross, but small offenders, who had acted by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? Thus Cromwell had manifestly the better of them at their own weapons, and upon their own principles.

ALL endeavours being ineffectual, and the Trial of court having finish'd all the necessary preparations, the king.

1648. the king's trial began on Saturday the 20th of January. The substance of the charge against him was, "That he had endeavour'd to set up " a tyrannical power, and to that end had rais'd and maintain'd in the land a cruel war against " the parliament; whereby the country had been " miserably wasted, the publick treasure exhausted, thousands of people had lost their lives, " and innumerable other mischiefs committed." The commissioners for trying him being met in Westminster-Hall on the foresaid day, the court order'd the ferjeant at arms to fend for their prifoner from Sir Robert Cotton's house, whither he had been removed; who accordingly was brought up in the face of the court by colonel Tomlinson, under a strong guard, and deliver'd to the serjeant at arms, who conducted him to the bar, where a crimion velvet chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he should know by what lawful authority he was brought thither; and the answer given not satisfying him, he persisted in that refusal. The same he did on Monday January 22d, when he was a fecond time brought before the court; as also the next day, being the third time. Finally, on January 27th, the king being a fourth time brought into the court, desir'd, before sentence was pass'd against him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber; with defign, as 'tis thought, to have refign'd his crown to his fon, the prince of Wales: Upon which the judges retir'd for half an hour to consider of his request; and then returning they order'd the king to be brought again to the bar; when the prefident told him, that what he had propos'd was but a further denial of the jurisdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of justice; and if he had no more

to fay, they would proceed to judgment. And 1648. the king answering, he had no more to say, Bradhaw made a long harangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his discourse mostly on this principle, That the people have the supreme power, and the house of commons is the people. This speech being ended, and the charge again recited, fentence was pronounced in these words; For all which treasons and crimes, this He is concourt doth adjudge, that the faid Charles Stuart, demn'd. as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and publick enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his head from his body.

THO' the king was condemn'd, and there appear'd no hope of faving his life, yet still endeavours were not wanting for that purpose. The Cromwell's following story is told on this occasion, that co-kinsman lonel John Cromwell, a near relation of the great him, in Oliver, came to town about this time, with cre-behalf of dential letters from the states of Holland, where- the king. to was added a blank, with the king's fignet, and another of the prince's, both confirm'd by the states, for Cromwell to set down his own conditions, if he would now fave his majesty's life. The colonel went directly to his kiniman's house, who was fo retir'd and shut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas with much difficulty he obtain'd admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually faluted each other, the colonel defir'd to speak a few words with him in private; and began with much freedom to fet before him the heinousness of the fact, then about to be committed, and with what deteffation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living, he could never have imagin'd, he would have had any band in it, who, in his hearing, had protested so much for the king. To this Cromwell answer'd,

1648. It was not be but the army; and tho' be did once fay some such words, yet now times were alter'd. and providence feem'd to order things otherwise, And 'tis faid, he added, That he had prayed and fasted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this, the colonel step'da little back, and fuddenly that the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be affassinated; but the other pulling out his papers. faid to him, Cousin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself, but your family, relations and posterity, bappy and bonourable for ever; otherwise, as they have chang'd their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface. At this Cromwell paus'd a little, and then faid, Coufin, I defire you would give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you bear from me. The colonel did accordingly, and about one in the morning a meffenger came to tell him, He might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been seeking God (a phrase, it seems, very much in use at that time) as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all, that the king must die.

A committee was appointed by the high-court of justice to inspect the parts about White-hall for a convenient place for the king's execution: Having made their report, it was determin'd, that a scaffold should be made near the banqueting-house for that purpose; and 'twas order'd to be covered with black. The same day, Jan. 29th, about threescore of the commissioners figned a warrant for the king's execution, directing

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it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel 1648. Phayer, or either of them. Cromwell's name flood the third in this warrant, Bradsbaw, and lord Grey of Groby only standing before him. The same day the king's children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambassador from the states had his audience in the house of commons; whose errand was to intercede with them for the king's life, and to maintain a good correspondence between England and the United Provinces. The next day, being The exethe 30th of January, about eight a clock in the cution of morning, his majesty was with a guard brought the king. from St. James's through the park to White-ball; where having staid about two hours in a private room, he was led to the scaffold out of a window of the banqueting-house: And having made a speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner at one blow fevered his head from his body.

CAPTAIN Herelet was condemned after the restoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons who stood mask'd upon the scaffold, though several creditable witnesses depos'd, that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman, had confessed and own'd that he executed the king, and that he affirm'd as much to the lord Capel, when he fuffer'd by the same ax; and captain Hewlet offer'd to make it appear, that he was not then upon the scaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was seiz'd and Notwithstandsecur'd for refusing to be there. ing this, Hewlet was found guilty by the jury; but was repriev'd: And if we may believe what Lilly writes in his own life, it was the resolute Joyce (who feiz'd the king at Holmby) that struck the fatal stroke. The account that Lilly gives, is as follows: "The next Sunday but one after.

c Charles

" Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin. 1648. " fecretary to the lieutenant-general Cromwell, in-" vited himself to dine with me, and brought " Anthony Pierson and several others along with " him to dinner. Their principal discourse was, " who it was that beheaded the king: One faid it was the common hangman; another, Hugh ec Peters; others were also nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as foon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carrying " me to the South window, said, These are all " mistaken, they have not nam'd the man that did " the fact; it was lieutenant-colonel Joyce: I was in the room, when he fitted himself for the work, a flood behind him when he did it, and when done, went in again with him. There's no man knows " this but my master Cromwell, commissary Ire-" ton, and my felf."

His behacharacter.

THE king, in all his fufferings, shewed a calm viour and and compos'd firmness, which amaz'd all people; and the rather, because 'twas not natural to him. He had many indignities offered to him, especially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatness of mind, without disorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as bishop Burnet observes, he died greater than he had liv'd, and shew'd that, which has been often remarked of the whole family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaftity, and an utter enemy to all kind of debauchery; and if he had any personal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. rock on which he split, was an immoderate defire of power, beyond what the conftitution allowed. His reign both in peace and war, was a con-

a continual feries of errors: He was out of meafure bent on following his humour; but unreafonably feeble to those whom he trusted, especially the queen. His friends regretted the afcendant she had over him on many occasions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious husband. He had certainly a fixed aversion to popery; but was much inclin'd to a middle way between the Protestants and Papists: whereby he loft the one without gaining the other. In fhort, his whole conduct was fuch, as verified this maxim, That errors in government

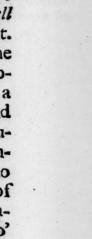
have ruin'd more princes than personal vices.

Thus have we got over this dark scene, in How far which our lieutenant-general is commonly suppo-fed to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not strange is to be imputed he should, if the story of the king's dealing de- to Cromceitfully with him be true; so it may more rea- well. fonably be concluded, that his fon-in-law Ireton, rather than he, was the person who chiefly influenc'd in these proceedings. I know Ireton is supposed all along to have afted by Cromwell's directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many cases be justly questioned. Ireton was certainly a zealous common-wealth's-man, which party was always averse to any treaty with the king; and though he with Cromwell was in fuch a treaty, yet Ludlow thinks he never really intended to close with the king; but only to lay his party afleep, whilft they were contesting with the Presbyterian interest in parliament; but he fays no fuch thing of Cromwell, whom he feems all along to be angry with, for his defign of making an agreement with the king, being himself utterly averse to it, and supposing Cromwell's main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earnest in the treaty, and also have design'd the publick

1648.

publick good. Cromwell was certainly no common-wealth's-man, though he was forc'd to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party; and as the agitators and their offforing the levellers, who were no other than the common-wealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely Cromwell at first might make use of to bring about some of his designs, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; fo whatever hand Cromwell had in it, feems to be chiefly owing to their fury and desperate refolutions, which made him apprehensive of the greatest danger, if he did not comply with their defigns; though at the same time, the contradictions that appear'd in the king's conduct, might the more eafily incline him to join purposes with In short, what with the danger that threaten'd his person, if he had persisted to oppose the designs of the levellers; what with the enthusiasm, that was so habitual to him; and what with the confideration of the king's past misgovernment, which had been the original cause of all the evils the nation had suffer'd, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he should be restor'd; he having discover'd himfelf to be of a very inconstant and wavering, not to fay equivocating temper; Cromwell was at length fo wrought upon, as to think it necessary, and so lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the last he seem'd to be pretty active, tho' always in some doubt about it. We are expresly told, he at first shew'd some repugnance to so black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and feem'd to fhew his abhorrence of it, and not to furmount it, as he faid himself; but only because he faw that the providence of God and the necessity of the times, had inspir'd the army to make so terrible a facrifice; but that that facrifice,

fice, after all, was the only one that could fave the flate and religion. And I cannot here omit what bishop Burnet says of this matter: He tells us, that Ireton was the person that drove on the king's trial and death, and that Cromwell was all the while in some suspence about it. " Ireton, fays he, had the principles and the " temper of a Cassius in him: He stuck at no-" thing that might have turn'd England to a " common-wealth; and he found out Cook and " Bradsbaw, two bold lawyers, as proper instru-" ments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that Ireton was the person, who wrought upon Fairfax, and manag'd the affair of the army's remonstrance, and purging the parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' I am far from pretending to justify the whole of Cromwell's conduct in these extraordinary transactions; yet I cannot but think, that a greater load of guilt and infamy is usually laid to his share, than he really deserv'd.





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OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART II.

Containing an account of his actions and behaviour, from the time of the KING's death, to the forcible dissolution of the long PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. I.

From the King's death to Cromwell's arrival in Ireland.



AVING feen the actions of this wonderful man, during the life of king Charles, let us now view him under the common-wealth government: But first it may be proper to

observe, how this government was establish'd. The first thing the parliament (for so the remnant

nant of the house of commons now call'd them- 1648. felves) did after the king's death, was to pass V an act, ordaining, " That no person whatsoever A com-" do presume to proclaim, declare, publish, or mon-" any ways promote Charles Stuart, fon of the govern-" late Charles, commonly call'd the prince of ment fet " Wales, or any other person, to be king or up. " chief magistrate of England or Ireland, &c. " without the free confent of the people in par-" liament, first had, and fignified by a particular " act or ordinance for that purpose; under pain " of being adjudged a traitor." Then they made another act, " That fuch as had affented to the " Vote, That the king's concessions were a ground " for the bouse to proceed to a Settlement, should " not be re-admitted to fit as Members." These therefore were commonly called the secluded members.

Soon after, Feb. 5. they voted the house of Peers to be useless and dangerous, and an act was accordingly pass'd for abolishing it, though Cromwell is faid to have appear'd for them. And to remove all that stood in the way of their defign'd common-wealth, they refolv'd and declared, " That it had been found by experience, that " the office of a King in this nation, was un-" necessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the " liberty, fafety and publick interest of the na-" tion; and therefore it should be utterly abo-" lished." Then the form of government was declared to be a Common-wealth; and a council of state was appointed, consisting of forty perfons, whereof Cromwell was one; to whom power was given, to command and fettle the militia of England and Ireland, to order the fleet, and fet forth fuch a naval power, as they should think fit; to appoint magazines and stores for England and Ireland, and to dispose of them for the service

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1648. vice of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to fit and execute these powers for the space of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be issued out in the names of the keepers of the liberty of England. And a new oath, or engagement, was prepar'd, to be true and faithful to the government establish'd without king or bouse of peers; all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or state. If the reader is curious of knowing what persons compos'd the council of state for this first year, they were as follows: John Bradshaw, Esq; president, earl of Dubigh, earl of Mulgrave, earl of Pembroke, earl of Salisbury, lord Grey, lord Grey of Groby, lord Fairfax, John Lisle, Esq; —— Rolles, Esq; Oliver St. John, Esq; John Wild, Elg; Bulftrode Whitelock, Efg; lientenant-general Cromwell, major-general Skippon, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Massam, Sir Arthur Hasterigg, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir John Dauvers, Sir William Armine; Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Constable, Alexander Popham, William Purefoy, Isaac Pennington, Rowland Wilson, Edmund Ludlow, William Heveningham, Robert Wallop, Henry Marten, Anthony Stapley, John Hutchinson, Valentine Walton, Thomas Scot, Dennis Bond, Luke Robinson, John Jones, Cornelius Holland, Esqs;

Another High court of Justice.

THE new common-wealth being thus settled and secur'd, another High-court of Justice is now erected for the trial of delinquents. Before this court the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, being brought, receiv'd sentence of death, for being concern'd in the late invasion and insurrections. After judgment given, they petition'd the commons; and so their reprieve

or their execution was put to the vote of the 1648. house; and duke Hamilton, and the lord Capel wo were cast, and Sir John Owen saved by a considerable majority; as the earl of Holland was cast, and the earl of Norwich saved, by the single vote of the speaker, the house being before equally divided as to them; so that Hamilton, Holland and Capel were foon after beheaded in the Palace-yard at Westminster. It must be remember'd here, that when the lord Capel's petition, which his lady delivered, was read in the house, many spoke in his favour, and faid, that he had never deceived or betray'd them, but had always freely and resolutely declar'd for the king: And Cromwell, who knew him very well, spoke Cromwell's fo many things to his honour, and professed so speech amuch respect for him, that all believed he was gainst the fafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for lord Ca-" the publick fo out-weighed his private friend-" ship, that he could not but tell them, that the " question was now, Whether they would pre-" serve the most bitter and most implacable enemy " they had: That he knew well, that the lord " Capel would be the last man in England, that " would abandon the royal interest; that he " had great courage, industry and generofity; " that he had many friends who would always " adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, " what condition foever he was in, he would be " a thorn in their fides: And therefore, for the " good of the common-wealth, he should give " his vote against the petition." It ought also to be remember'd, that Sir John Owen's reprieve was owing in great measure to the generofity and good nature of commissary-general Ireton, who observing there had been no application made, nor a word faid in behalf of Owen, spoke for him thus, as lord Clarendon tells us, " There " have

.1648.

. "have been great endeavours and folicitations us'd to fave all those lords; but there's a com-

"moner, another condemn'd person, for whom no man hath said a word, nor has he himself

" fo much as petition'd: Therefore I defire that

"Sir John Owen may be preserv'd by the meer motive and goodness of the house;" which

was affented to.

ABOUT this time, several things were declared by the parliament to be high-treason, and this among the rest, viz. For any soldiers of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general; or endeavour to raise mutinies in the army.

A private flory of Cromwell and Ire-

A little before this, Cromwell and his fon-in-law Ireton went along with Whitelock from the council of state, and supp'd at his house. Here they were very chearful, and feem'd extremely well pleas'd; and related many wonderful observations of God's providence, in the course of the war, and in the affair of the army's coming to London, and feizing the members of the house. Having thus discours'd together till midnight, they return'd home, and in their paffage their coach was stop'd, and they were examined by the guards. They presently told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threaten'd to carry these two great officers to the court of guard. Hereupon Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell made himself merry with the foldiers, gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty. And they afterwards confess'd that they knew Cromwell and Ireton well enough, and were more strict with them than with others, to let them see they were careful of their duty; which they believ'd these great men came at that time on purpose to observe.

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MATTERS being now brought to some de- 1649. gree of fettlement, it was thought fit to abolish the council of agitators in the army; left they, Council who had been the chief authors in all the late tors to be changes, should now take it in their heads to car-abolishry matters further than the present rulers car'd ed, which they should. But these agitators had tasted too occasions much of power, to be willing to be ftripp'd of fresh disit; but at the same time made a wrong compu- in the artation of their own strength by the great things my. they had formerly effected, not confidering that their fuperior officers were now wholly united with the parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the same designs. presently drew up a petition to the lord general Fairfax and his council of officers, against the defign of abolishing them; but by a council of war, the subscribers of this petition were sentenced to ride with their faces towards the horses tails before the heads of their feveral regiments, with their faults written on their breafts, to have their fwords broken over their heads, and fo to be cashier'd the army. Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great Palace-yard at Westminster, to the great exasperation of the Levelling-Party, who were refolv'd not fo to be suppress'd.

For not long after, there being a rendezvous cromwell at Ware, several regiments, among whom was again sup-Cromwell's of Horse, in pursuance of the fore- presses the mentioned petition, and to be diffinguished from others, wore white in their hats, as they had done once before. Cromwell having notice of the defign, order'd two regiments of horse from distant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up, Cromwell with an angry and down look rides round, and on a fudden commands one of those

1640. two regiments to encompass a regiment of foot? which being done accordingly; he call d tour men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marshal; and immediately calling a council of War (whilft the rest of their contederates slunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldness of Cromwell) try'd and condemn'd them. But they had the favour from the court of casting lots for their lives, two only to die; and the two whose lot it was to die, were presently shot to death upon a green bank by the other two in fight of the army. A little before, another leveller, one Lockyer, a trooper, for promoting the engagement and agreement, was shot to death in

St. Paul's Church-vard.

NOTWITHSTANDING these executions, this humour still continu'd in the army, and began to break out with greater violence, upon the parliament's voting, that eleven regiments, by lot, should be fent over into Ireland. This enrag'd them to that degree, that, finding that instead of reaping the advantages they had promis'd themfelves, they were to be expos'd to fresh hazards, and the miseries of a starving war, they peremptorily declar'd against it, as a contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for Ireland, till the liberties of the people, for which they first engag'd in war, were secured; requiring, That the often promised representative of the nation might be chosen. And finding that discourses and representations were to no purpose, they began to have recourse to arms. Accordingly colonel Scroop's regiment, having laid afide their officers, marched with twelve troops from their quarters at Salisbury, towards Burford in Oxfordsbire, in order to a conjunction with those of Harrison, Ireton, and Skippon, and a party t;

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party under one Thompson then lying near Ban- 1649. hury. This they had effected, if the extraordinary diligence of Cromwell and Fairfax had not prevented them: For posting forty miles in one day, they overtook them at Abingdon, and first offer'd them a treaty, wherein fatisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, that neither party might come within ten miles of each other; to which they agreed: But the Levellers, under Thompson, who had increas'd their numbers to about five thousand, march'd to Burford; where, while they were fecurely resting themselves, and their horses put into the adjoining meadows, about twelve a clock at night colonel Reynolds fell into their quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them prisoners. and nine hundred of their horses. Thompson took shelter in a wood near Milton, where he fought manfully till he was flain. Of the prisoners three only were executed, who dy'd very refolutely. cornet Den expressing his grief and forrow, was repriev'd at the inftant of execution; which his companions beholding from the leads of the church, were faluted with a message of decimation: But at Cromwell's defire they were all pardon'd, and fent home to their own houses. Thus was this infurrection quell'd on the fifteenth day

AFTER this, the lord-general Fairfax, and He with lieutenant - general Cromwell visited Oxford (the the geneuniversity having sent a deputation to invite them ral is treated at thither) where they were nobly treated, and oxford. made doctors of the civil law; at which time also, Sir Hardress Waller and Mr. Rushworth, with eight colonels, were created mafters of arts. Then they visited Portsmouth, from whence they return'd to London in triumph, and received new marks of honour from the parliament. And now And at

to London.

1649.

to promote a lasting union between the three principles of power, the parliament, the army, and the city, it was contriv'd, that the speaker with the house, the general with the chief officers, and the council of state, should, after hearing two fermons, be magnificently feasted at Grocers-hall, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council. This was accordingly done, on the 7th of June; the lord-mayor, as 'twas usual towards kings, meeting Lenthal the speaker, with the rest of the members, at Temple-bar, and there refigning the fword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carry'd before him into the city, And having heard two fermons at Christ-church, preached by Mr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen, they proceeded to Grocers-hall to dinner. The speaker fat first; next to him the lord-mayor; then the earl of Pembroke call'd to the lord commissioner Whitelock to fit down, as the eldest commission ner of the Great-seal: Whitelock excus'd it, and defir'd the earl to fit down first: But he faid aloud, What do you think I will fit down before you? I have given place heretofore to bishop Williams, to my lord Coventry, and to my lord Littleton; and you have the same place they had; and as much bonour belongs to the place under a common-wealth, as under a king; and you are a gentleman as well born and bread as any of them. The earl oblig'd Whitelock to take precedence of him, and fat down himself next to him; then the lord prefident of the council of state and the other commissioners of the Great-seal; then the earl of Salisbury and the lord Howard; after them lieutenant-general Cromwell, and other members of parliament, and of the council of state, The musick at this feast, which was very fumptuous, was only drums and trumpets; m health

healths were drank, nor any incivility pass'd. At 1649. this entertainment, there was presented by the city to the lord-general a large and weighty bafon and ewer of beaten gold; and to lieutenantgeneral Cromwell three hundred pounds in plate, and two hundred pieces in gold.

CROMWELL was now just entering upon a new scene of action, and making preparations for the reducing of Ireland to the power of the new common-wealth: But before we describe his memorable exploits in that kingdom, 'twill be proper to take a short view of the posture of affairs there for some time past, and the condition

they were now in.

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THE Irish rebellion, the most barbarous and Some acbloody that was ever executed in any part of the count of world, in which so many thousand Protestants the Afwere most inhumanly massacred, broke out in Oc- Ireland, tober 1641, which tho' it had been contriv'd with before fuch secrefy, and acted with such outrage, yet Cromwell's the city of Dublin was wonderfully preserv'd by going odivine providence, to be an asylum for such as escap'd thither, to avoid the fury of their bloody persecutors. Many of the poor Protestants came over also into England, hoping there to find shelter from the merciles enemy: But this proved little comfort to those distressed souls; for here they found, to the increase of their grief, that England was preparing on all fides to act the fame upon one another, which the Papists had done against them in Ireland. But the the difference between the king and parliament increas'd every day; yet 'twas so ordered, that some regiments were fent over into Ireland, to stop the proceedings of the rebels. After the war had been carry'd on for some time in England, the king finding his affairs in a declining condition, and that the parliament gain'd ground upon him, he in

1649. 1643, order'd the marquis of Ormand to make a truce with the Irilb, that he might have the affistance of those English forces that were in Ireland, in his war with the parliament. A ceffation of arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the Irih infamously broke the articles of it: For the English being now gone over to England, they on a sudden rose against the marguis, and had surpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their defign, and escap'd into Dublin: And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up either to the English sent by the parliament, or to the Irish, he gave it up to the English (who made colonel Jones governour) and came over to the king, at what time he was car-

ry'd from place to place by the army.

THE marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous Irish being terrify'd with the news, that the parliament was fending over an army thither, requested the prince, to whom the marquis had repair'd, to fend him back, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to his majesty's authority, and to obey the marquis as his lieutenant, and join with him to expel the parliament's forces. The marquis being accordingly arriv'd, entered into most dishonourable articles with the Irifb, who having made a confederacy among themselves, soon became more formidable by the accession of the lord Inchequin, president of Munster, and the Scots in the province of Ulfter. Before the arrival of the marquis, the pope's nuncio, who had been fent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behav'd himself so tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the Irish themselves, was expell'd the kingdom: And now the royalists and Irish being united, Ireland seem'd in a fair way of being entirely reduc'd to the king's obedience. But

But Owen Roe Oneal, the best commander among the Irifb, not liking the articles of the confederacy, refused to be included in it, and joining with the parliament's forces reliev'd Londonderry. then befieged by the lord Ardes. Ormond however and the confederates having a numerous army, the whole kingdom was almost reduced by them, excepting Londonderry, governed by Sir Charles Coot, and Dublin the chief city, wherein was colonel Jones with no very confiderable force, befides that his men were frequently deferting their colours. The enemy with their formidable army was now marching to beliege it, and fent many threatning fummons, requiring a fpeedy furrender of the place; which notwithstanding, thro' the vigilance of the governour, held out to the confusion of the besiegers. But his prefent difficulties, and the great danger he was in, made him renew his instances to the parliament, in the most pressing manner for speedy supplies of men and provisions; declaring, that else all would be loft. Hereupon the parliament, not insensible of his condition, began to provide for the relief of Ireland with all possible expedition: And appointed commissary-general Ireton, colonel Scroop, colonel Horton, major-general Lambert, with their four regiments of horse; colonel Ewer, colonel Cook, colonel Hewson, and colonel Dean, with theirs of foot, and five troops of dragoons, all old foldiers of the English army, for the faid service: And besides these, other regiments were rais'd by beat of drum, to make up a fufficient force for effectually carrying con so great a work.

THE forces being in a great degree of re? di- Cromwell ness, the parliament began now to think of a ge- accepts of neral for this expedition; and having had fu ffici- the hip ent experience of Cromwell's great abilities, and

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knowing no man fo fit for the employment, they defired him to accept of it; who not without fome feeming reluctancy at last undertook it, and after many humble expressions of his own unworthiness and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire refignation of himfelf to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence, he acquainted them, that he fubmitted to their good will and pleasure, and defired them to hasten all the necessary preparations; For he confess'd that kingdom to be reduced " to so great streights, that he was willing to engage his own person, purely for the difficul-"ties which appeared in the expedition; and more out of hope to give some obstruction to the present success of the rebels, and to preer ferve to the common-wealth some footing in that kingdom, than from any expectation that " he should be able, with his strength, in any " fignal degree to prevail over them.

He is made lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

THE house was so well pleas'd with this anfwer, that immediately after, on the 22d of June, he had a pompous commission given him in Latin and English, to command all forces to be fent into Ireland, and to be lord-governour both as to civil and military affairs in that kingdom, for three years: And colonel Jones was made lieutenant-general of the horse. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell us'd an incredible expedition in the raifing of money, providing of shipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. The foldiers march'd with great speed to the rendezvous at Milford-Haven, there to expect the new lord-deputy.

ABOUT this time, Cromwell had a remarkable interview with the lord Broghill; who having forni'd a defign of deferting the parliament's ferlord Erog- vice, as the earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately

His remarkable interview with the bill

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privately to London, intending to go to the king in France. He was no fooner come to London, but a gentleman came to him from the lord governour Cromwell, to acquaint him that he would pay him a vifit, if he knew when he would be at leisure; at which Brogbill was exceedingly furpriz'd, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the messenger he suppos'd he was mistaken in the person he was sent to: But the gentleman convincing him he was not, the lord Brogbill own'd who he was, and faid he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The messenger had not been long gone, before Cromwell came himself, and after compliments pass'd, defired to speak with his lordship in private; when he told him, He had a great respect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint bim with something that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it. He then told him, that the council of state were inform'd of his design in crossing the water (which the lord Brogbill had communicated to two or three trusty friends only) that instead of going to the Spaw he designed to go to the king, and take a commission from him to act against the parliament in Ireland: That the council had good proof of what he said, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpose; upon which it was resolved to send him to the Tower; which had been done, if himself bad not prevented it, and obtained time to confer with him, to see if he could be induc'd to alter his purpose. The lord Broghill seeing it would be to no purpose to evade the matter, ask'd Cromwell's pardon, thank'd him for his good offices, and requested him to advise him. Cromwell reply'd, That the council of state and be were no strangers to his actions in Ireland; and the subdaing of the rebels being committed to bima

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him, he was authoriz'd by the council to offer him a general command, if he would serve in that war. Broghill readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour, that he would be faithful to the parliament: And so having received a commission to be master of the ordnance, and to command in Munster, he embarked for Ireland, where he was no sooner arriv'd, but several gentlemen, who had served under him in those wars, join'd him; so that he soon formed a troop of horse, and within a little time after, rais'd a regiment of 1500 foot, which were ready to join the lord governour Cromwell at his landing.

His pompous march from London,

His excellency having dispatch'd his business with the parliament, on the 10th of July left London, setting forward in great state, being drawn in a coach with fix horses, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of state, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard confifting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themselves and servants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where those gentlemen, who accompany'd him, took their leaves. wishing a prosperous issue to this undertaking; whom he answered again with great civility and respect. From hence he posted directly for Bristol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters necessary for the hastening his men on shipboard.

He fends fuccours before him. From Bristol he takes his way into Wales, having sent over three regiments before, viz. colonel Reynolds's of horse, colonel Venable's and colonel Monk's of soot. These were shipped from Chester, and the ports thereabout; and being savoured with a prosperous gale, quickly arriv'd at the port of Dublin, where they were welcomed with unspeakable joy and gladness. The citizens

citizens spared for nothing that might be any re- 1649. lief to the fea-fick foldiers, hoping that the recovery of their health might be a means of enlarging their liberties, who now were almost wholly confin'd within the narrow compass of their city walls. And they were not at all difappointed of their expectation: For Jones having his courage much heighten'd by the coming over of these supplies, now car'd not for the enemy's bravadoes, but refolved to remove them farther off; which he in a very little time effected.

FOR on the 2d of August he discovered a By which party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot means orbesides horse, drawn down to their new work at mond's ar-Baggot-rath, a place about a quarter of a mile my is toeastward of the city upon the sea. Hence they ed. defign'd to run their trenches towards the cityworks, thereby to fecure those forts which were begun to be rais'd towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and fupplies expected from England. But Jones and Reynolds, with the rest of the commanders in the city, observing the enemy's design, judged it neceffary to interrupt them: And fo presently drawing out twelve hundred horse and four thoufand foot, they foon enter'd the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with fo much fury, that they routed the horse at the first charge; and soon after cut in pieces the greatest part of their foot, and took most of the rest prisoners. The report of this difafter foon reach'd the general Ormond's cars, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and understanding also, that Jones was making towards his main army, he wished the rebels would come that he might have some sport with them, and fo went on with his game: But he was foon forced to leave it; for Jones with his men fol-

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1649. lowing the chase to Rathmims, where Ormond's camp was, engag'd his whole army, and after two hours fight, totally routed them with a very great flaughter. Four thousand were reckoned to be kill'd on the place and in the chafe, and above two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, of whom feveral were men of quality, and amongst the rest Ormand's own brother, himself very narrowly escaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and provisions, behind them; and withal a rich camp to reward the valiant foldiers; who with the spoil of it so trick'd themfelves up, that when they returned to Dublin, many of the officers did not know their own men, they were grown fo fine. This great victory was obtained with the loss of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being miffing after the fight was over. The fuccess was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both fides; Jones with his handful of men being led on step by step to a compleat victory, whereas their utmost defign, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baggot-rath. Ormond's party were fo furpriz'd, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army, where Jones seiz'd four thousand pounds very seasonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to Kilkenny with a confiderable number: Others betook themselves to Droghedah or Tredagh, whither he foon came himself with three hundred horse, and in very good time; for lieutenantgeneral Jones hoping the town might be so terrified with this overthrow as to furrender, haften'd thither with some horse to summon it; but having notice of Ormand's coming, he marched back to Dublin.

THE lord-governour Cromwell being at Mil- 1649. ford-Haven, receiv'd the full account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the Cromwell loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity what for Ireto do. But the clouds being dispers'd upon the land. news of the great fuccess his party had that he fent before, he deferr'd not to embark his whole army. On the thirteenth of August, he set sail from Milford-haven with thirty two ships, wherein was the van of his army; Ireton foon following him with the main body in forty two other veffels, and Hugh Peters with twenty fail bringing up the rear. With a very prosperous wind they Arrives at foon arrived at Dublin, where they were receiv'd Dublin. with all possible demonstration of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people refounding in every street. Cromwell being come into the city, where the concourse of the people was very great (they all flocking to fee him, whom before they had heard fo much of) at a convenient place he made a fland, and with his hat in his hand made a speech to them, telling them, "That as God " had brought him thither in fafety, so he doubted " not but by his divine providence to restore them " all to their just liberties and properties; and " that all those, whose hearts affections were real " for the carrying on of the great work against " the barbarous and bloody-thirsty Irish, and all " their adherents and confederates, for the pro-" pagating of the gospel of Christ, the establish-" ing of truth and peace, and restoring that " bleeding nation to its former happiness and tran-" quillity, thould find favour and protection from " the parliament of England, and from himself, " and withal receive fuch rewards and gratuities, " as should be answerable to their merits." This speech was entertained with great applause by the K 3

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1649. people, who all cry'd out, That they would live and die with him.

CHAP. II.

His actions in Ireland, and return from thence.

HE army having refresh'd themselves, and the lord-lieutenant having fettled both the military and civil affairs of Dublin, he drew his forces out of the city to a general muster, where appeared a compleat body of fifteen thousand horse and foot; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thousand flout resolute men, for the present service. With this army, furnish'd with all things necessary, he advanced towards Tredagh, a town well fortified, with a garrison in it of two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a brave experienc'd soldier. marquis of Ormand had foreseen, that this place, by reason of its neighbourhood and situation, would be first attempted, it not being likely that the enemy would leave so considerable a fortress behind them: and he was in hopes he should have time to recruit his shatter'd army, and repair the loss of the late defeat, while Cromwell should be wasting his forces against a town they believed could hold out a month, and before that time be relieved: but the event shew'd how much he was mistaken.

He storms gredagh.

CROMWELL was no fooner come before Tredagh, but observing the rules of war, he summon'd the governour to surrender; which summons was slighted, and look'd upon rather as a

matter

matter of formality, than that he did believe to have 1649. the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governour ordered all things for a quick dispatch of the siege. Ayscough's ships block'd them up by sea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red enfign display'd before the town. fieged were not much difmay'd at this, as expecting succour from the marquis of Ormond: and they feem'd to be unanimous in this refolution, rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after.

FOR Cromwell being fensible of the mischiefs of a long fiege, like an impatient conqueror, would not spend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a strong battery which soon levell'd the steeple of a church on the South fide of the town, and a tower that stood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the East and South walls was demolish'd, and two breaches made, which fome regiments of foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the horse to go in with them. Here the utmost bravery was shewn on both fides, the breaches being not more courageoully affaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within fo furiously charg'd those who first enter'd that they drove them back again faster than they came in. Cromwell, who was all this while standing at the battery, observing this, drew out His brae a fresh reserve of colonel Ewer's foot, and in very and conduct person bravely enter'd with them once more in- in that to the town. This example of their general in-action. spir'd the soldiers with such fresh courage, that none were able to stand before them; and having now gain'd the town, they made a terrible flaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the fword; Cromwell having express-

1649.

ly commanded not to spare any one that should be found in arms; the defign of which was to discourage other places from making opposition; to which purpose the lord-governour wrote to the parliament, That he believ'd this feverity would fave much effusion of blood. Aston's men did not fall unrevenged; for they fought bravely, and desperately disputed every corner of the streets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The streets at last proving too hot, they fled to the churches and steeples, and other places of shelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church-steeple, resolving there to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible; but they were all quickly blown up with gun-powder, only one man escaping, who leap'd from the tower. The wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which Cromwell's men feeing, took him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refus'd to yield upon fummons, strong guards were immediately put upon them to starve them out; which foon had that effect as to make them furrender themselves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but small; for all the officers were presently knock'd on the head, and every tenth man of the foldiers kill'd, and the rest thrust on shipboard for Barbadoes. The governour Sir Arthur Afton, here likewise met his fate, being put to the fword among the reft. And thus was this strong place taken and fack'd in less than a week's time, which the rebellious Irish were three whole years in taking. This great action was so surprizing, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, swore a great oath, That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by florm, if he should form hell, he would take it.

THE dismal destruction of Tredagh render'd 1649. Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had fo much refo- Many olution as to expect a fummons to furrender; and fubmit to particularly the garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, him. fearing the like usage, abandon'd them to the conqueror. In this last place their haste was so great, that they left their great guns behind them. on the platforms. Gromwell did not at that time carry on his conquests any further northward. but return'd to Dublin, and march'd with his army towards Wexford, that part lying convenient for fubfifting his army in the fouthern counties. In his march, a place call'd Killingkerick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deserted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. Arckloe-Castle was likewise abandon'd, and many other places submitted to him.

On the 1st of October, Cromwell with his He storms army came before Wexford, and fent a fummons Wexford. to the governour, colonel David Synnot, requiring a speedy surrender. His answer was somewhat dubious, which occasion'd many papers to pass betwixt him and the lord-general Gromwell. The governour did this on purpose to protract time until the earl of Castle-Haven had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garrison; and having now receiv'd these recruits, he resolv'd to defend the place as long as he could, and feem'd to defy all attempts that might be made against him. Upon this, Cromwell applies himself in good earnest to the work, and bends his greatest force against the castle, knowing that upon the gaining of that, the town must soon follow. He caus'd a battery to be erected against it, whereby a small breach being made, commissioners were fent from the enemy, to treat about

1649. about a furrender. In the mean time the guns continued firing, no Ceffation have been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was apointed to defend it. quitted their post; whereupon some of Cromwell's men enter'd the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it. The enemy observing this, quitted their flations in all parts, so that the others getting over the walls, poffefs'd themselves of the town without any great opposition, and set open the gates for the horse to enter, tho' they could do but little fervice, all the streets being barr'd with cables. The town being thus enter'd, none were fuffer'd to live that were found in arms; and so they cut their Way through the ftreets, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought desperately for some time; but were at last quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the sword. Ludlow says, that the foot press'd the enemy so close, that crowding to escape over the water, they so overloaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being esteem'd by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seiz'd in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coaft. The lord-lieutenant Cromwell appointed commissioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improv'd to the best advantage for the publick. The reduction of this place was of very confiderable advantage to the conquefors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving supplies from England. And the feverity that was exercis'd here, had the same effeet with that us'd before at Droghedah: the terror spreading into all towns and forts along the

the coast as far as Dublin, spar'd the general 1649.

the trouble of fummoning them.

THE winter now coming on, and it being a very wet season, Cromwell's troops suffer'd much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongst them. Many thought these reasons should have oblig'd him for the present to put a stop to his conquests; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of Ormand met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient disagreement again breaking out between the Popish confederates and him, on account of that disaster, the secret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munster, and the mighty affairs that call'd him back over the sea, feem'd to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progress.

BEING thus refolv'd, he marches with his ar- He redumy towards Ross, a strong town upon the Barrow. ces Ross.

The lord Taffe was governour of this place, who had a strong garrison with him; and the better to secure it, Ormond, Castle-Haven, and the lord Ardes, in their own persons, caus'd fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it; Cromwell's army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, the lord-governour no fooner came before the town, but he fent the governour a fummons to this effect, " That fince his coming into Ire-" land he ever endeavour'd to avoid the Effu-" fion of blood, having been before no place." " where he did not first send them such terms, " as might be for their preservation; and to continue the like course, he now summons them " to deliver up the town to the parliament of " England." No answer was at present return'd

play; when the governour, being apprehensive of the fame usage that other garrisons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allow'd, they came to this agreement, "That the "town be deliver'd up to lord-general Crom-well, and they within march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny: "Which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but six hundred of them being English revolted to Cromwell.

In the mean time Kingfale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon-Bridge, and other garrifons voluntarily declar'd for the conqueror; which garrifons prov'd of great use to the reducement of Munster, and consequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Goot and colonel Venables were very successful in the north; and the lord Broghill and colonel Hewson did good

fervice in other places.

Belieges
Duncannon, and
retreats
from
thence.

CROMWELL having made himself master of Ross, caus'd a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, and his army to fit down before Duncannon, a strong fort commanded by colonel Wogan: but this place was fo well provided with all things necessary, that it was judg'd it would be time loft to tarry long before it. And fo the army quickly rose, and march'd away into the county of Kilkenny; where the marquis of Ormand, being join'd by Inchequin, feem'd refolv'd to give Cromwell battle. His army was strong both in horse and foot, far surpassing Cromwell's, which was much weaken'd by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diseases. Notwithstanding which, the marquis upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or striking one stroke. Upon which, Enistegoe, a little walled town about five miles from Ross, was reduc'd by colonel Abbot; and colonel Reynolds with twelve troops of horfe,

and

and three of dragoons march'd up to Carrick; 1649. where having divided his men into two parts, whilst he amus'd them with one party, he enter'd a gate with the other, taking about a hun-

dred prisoners without the loss of a man.

THE news hereof being brought to the lord-general Cromwell, then at Ross, where he had continued for some time indispos'd, he immediately march'd away with his army to befiege Waterford, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces should draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he presently detach'd a regiment of horse, and three troops of dragoons to reduce Passage-Fort; which party met with the defired success, the fort and castle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being foon deliver'd up to them. But the fiege His army of Waterford was not so successfully carried on: marches for Cromwell perceiving that the city resolv'd to into win-stand upon their own desence, and it being now ters. December, and the weather very wet, he thought it most advisable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refresh'd against the spring, for the beter finishing of the work they had fo prosperously begun.

In the mean time, a party of the enemy from Waterford, and another from Duncannon, joining together, befieg'd Passage-Fort; but being set upon by colonel Zankey, they were totally routed, a great many of them being kill'd, and three hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Several other skirmishes were maintain'd with the like success; but the loss of lieutenant-general Jones, who died about this time at Wexford of a violent sever, struck a damp upon all. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and resolution, and yet he govern'd his valour with prudence, being not rash, but advised in all his attempts:

Many from the enemy revolt to him.

1649. attempts: the army had a great loss of him. and his death was foon follow'd by that of colonel Wolf, and scout-master-general Roe. Many of the common foldiers had likewife their share in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by continual supplies sent from England by the parliament. And now also the Irish, as well as the British foldiers, under the marquis of Ormand. being allur'd by the fuccesses, and wrought upon by the invitations of the common-wealth, as alfo deterr'd by the plague that rag'd amongst them. together with the want of pay and necessaries. ran by whole troops to Cromwell's camp; who made very great use of the Irish animolities, and of the jealoufies between them and Ormond. He us'd to ask some of the marquis's friends, whom he had taken prisoners. What the marquis of Ormand had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations be had receiv'd from bim; and then would speak of the hard usage his grandfather had met with from king James, and the long imprisonment he had suffain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial determination, and faid, be was confident, if the marquis and be could meet and confer together, they should part very good friends. And many, who heard these difcourses, by his permission, gave the marquis information of all he had faid.

He vifits the feveral garrifons.

WHILST the army continued in their winter-quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not fit still, but visited all the garrisons that were in his possession in Munster, and ordered all affairs both military and civil. When he came to King sale, the mayor of the town (as was usual in other places) deliver'd to him the mace and keys; which he return'd not to him again, but gave them to colonel Stubber the governour. This was the more taken notice of, because

because it had not been us'd by the lord-lieutenant; but the reason of this proceeding was, because the mayor was an Irish-man, and also a papift, and so 'twas not judg'd proper to entrust fuch a one with the government of so important

ABOUT this time the parliament being apprehenfive of the defigns that were carrying on against them in Scotland in favour of the king. and thinking they might have occasion to make use of Cromwell for preventing the mischief that threatened them from thence, refolv'd that he should be fent for over into England, ordering the speaker to write a letter to him for that purpose: but it being towards the latter end of March before he receiv'd this letter, and it being not his temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his work of reducing Ireland, and was very fucceisful in it. The month of January was hardly ex- He takes pir'd, when the army took the field again in two the field bodies, which he divided on purpose to distress again. the marquis of Ormand. Himself took one party, and another was led by Ireton, who march'd away to Carrick, in order to reinforce himfelf by the conjunction of colonel Reynolds. These were to march into the enemy's quarters two feveral ways, and to meet together at a rendezvous near Kilkenny. In order to this defign, Cromwell with his party march'd away over the Blackwater, towards the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. The first place reduc'd by him was a castle call'd Kilkenny, upon the borders of the county of Limerick. After that, he took in Cloghern house, Several belonging to Sir Richard Everard, one of the fu- places depreme council of the Irish. From thence he to him. march'd to Rogbill castle, which upon summons was deliver'd up to him. Here with much difficulty

1849. ficulty he pass'd the river Shewr, and without delay march'd away to Featbard, a garrison town where one Butler was governour. Being got into the suburbs about ten at night, he sent a trumpet with a fummons to the town; but they shot at the trumpet, and being inform'd that the lord-lieutenant was with the party, they faid, That it was not a fit time to fend a summons in the night. Upon this a refolution being taken to ftorm, the governour thought fit to fend two commissioners to treat with the lord-lieutenant; and after one night spent in the treaty, the town was furrender'd the next morning upon articles; which Cromwell the more readily granted them, because he had but few foot, and no great guns nor ladders; and seventeen companies of the Ulfer Foot were within five miles of the town. The enemy quitted it in some disorder, after which the magistrates sent a petition to the lordlieutenant, defiring his protection.

furrender'd to him upon articles.

Featbard

He fforms Calan.

THE forces having a little refresh'd themselves and takes at Feathard, the general march'd with them from thence to Calan, garrison'd by the enemy. he was join'd by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, making up in all a confiderable body. chief strength of Calan consisted in three castles that were in the town: and these the soldiers ftorm'd one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that thort refistance, all who were in arms being put to the fword, except Butler's troops, which furrender'd before the cannon was This so terrify'd some who defended a house about a musquet-shot from the town, that they presently sent to defire liberty to remove to Kilkenny; which the lord-general readily granted. The foldiers having fufficiently furnish'd themselves with the provisions they found in the town.

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way, taking the two castles of Cnottofer, and Bullynard: after which soon follow'd Kiltennon, Arsennon, Coher, and Dundrum, very considerable places.

The lord-governour Cromwell had now entirely subdued all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. These were places of great strength, and would take up much time; however, he refolv'd to attempt the last: but fearing the force he had might not be sufficient to carry on the defign, he fent orders to colonel Hewson, the new governour of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garrisons of Wexford, and the other posts he had taken on that fide. Accordingly Hewson, after having taken Laughlin-Bridge, join'd the lord-governour's army near Gowram, a populous town, defended by a strong castle, whereof one Hammond a Kentishman was governour. Being summoned to deliver Reduces it up, he return'd a very resolute answer, hav- Gowram, ing great confidence in the valour of his men. who were Ormond's own Regiment. Upon this, the great guns began to play, and did such furious execution, that he foon thought it time for him to beat a parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than these, " That the common soldiers should " have their lives, and the officers be dispos'd of " as should be thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which Hammond was enforc'd by the sedition of the soldiers, he and all the commission-officers but one, were the next day shot to death; and the priest, who was chaplain to the popish foldiers in the regiment, hanged.

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AFTER this, the lord-governour proceeds in Belieges his defign of belieging the city of Kilkenny, and takes.

The Kilkenny.

1649. The garrison there required a more then ordinavry strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforc'd by those who had surrender'd upon articles the small towns and castles in that county. But Cromwell, not at all difcourag'd at this, on the 22d of March, fent first of all a small party of horse before to make discovery, and shortly after came up with his whole force. Being advanc'd within a mile of the city, he made a stand, and sent a summons to Sir Walter Butler the governour, and the corporation, to deliver up the city, for the use of the parliament of England. The answer which was return'd the next day not being fatisfactory, Cromwell made his approaches near to the wall, and caus'd a battery to be erected in the most convenient place for annoying the befieged, and opening an entrance to the besiegers. In the mean time the befieged were not idle; but obferving where the enemy bent his greatest strength, endeavour'd there to make the greatest opposition, by raifing two retrenchments within, strongly pallisadoing them, and placing some pieces that might play to the best advantage. Cromwell however, having made all the necessary preparations, fell furiously to battering the walls; whereby, after making about an hundred shot, a breach was open'd. In the mean while, colonel Ewer, with a thousand foot, was order'd to attempt another part of the city, called Iristown; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the foldiers were order'd to attack the foremention'd breach; which they accordingly did, but were forc'd to retreat with lofs. However, the defign took effect; for by this means the whole strength of the enemy was held in play, while colonel Ewer with his party gain'd Irish-town; which they did with very little loss. There was on the other fide of

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the river another small town, or suburbs to the 1650. main city, and it was thought convenient to fend eight companies of foot to possess themfelves of it; which was done without any oppofition: And this animated them to endeavour to force a paffage over the bridge into the city; but the same misfortune happen'd as before at the breach. However, these desperate attempts occasion'd the governour to reflect more seriously upon his prefent circumstances: for the garrison in Cantwel castle, whom he had sent for, had defired paffes of the lord-governour Cromwell to go beyond sea, and enter themselves into the fervice of foreign princes, engaging never to act against the parliament of England: which request Cromwell granted them. But that which most of all discourag'd the governour, was, that he must not only defend himself, but must also be his own relief, their being no army in the field fufficient for that purpose. These things, together with the confideration, that the longer he stood out the worse he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a treaty; and after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms: " First, That the city and castle should " be deliver'd up to the lord-governour Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunicion, and " publick stores. Secondly, The inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their persons, goods, " and estates, from the violence of the soldiery; ce and fuch as had a mind to remove, to have " liberty so to do, three months after the date " of the articles. Thirdly, The governour, officers, and foldiers to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, The city to pay two thou-" fand pounds as a gratuity to his excellency " the lord Cromwell's army." Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had

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1650. been the nursery of the late rebellion, and the residence of the supreme council, reduc'd to the parliament's obedience in less than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable industry of the lord general Cromwell; who would always bear a share in the hardships his soldiers were expos'd to, and never flinch from them at any time when his perfonal valour was necessary; so that he frequently laid afide the dignity of a great commander,

CROMWELL flay'd no longer at Kilkenny

to all the part of a private foldier.

His letparliament.

than was necessary to settle the affairs of that city; after which he march'd with the army to Carrick, from thence to proceed upon further action. Here he wrote a letter to the fpeaker ter to the of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of Kilkenny, and several other places of less importance. And then concerning his coming over into England, he confess'd he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleasure, as to that matter, and copies of their votes; but all these were but private intimations. He faid, that he receiv'd not the speaker's letter till March 22d, which was dated Jan. 8. and then supposed the army to be in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not fuitable for present action: upon which he concludes thus; " Making this as the reason of your " command (viz. the army being in winter-quar-

" ters, &c.) and your forces having been in ac-

"tion ever fince Jan. 29. and your letter which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming

co to my hands after our having been fo long " in action, with respect had to the reasons you

were pleas'd to use therein; and having receiv'd a letter, figned by your felf of the 26th of

E Feb. which mentions not a word of the con-

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" tinuance of your pleasure concerning my com-" ing over; I did humbly conceive it much con-" fifted with my duty, humbly to beg a positive " fignification, what your will is: profeffing (as " before the Lord) that I am most ready to o-" bey your commands herein, with all alacrity; " rejoicing only to be about that work which I " am called to by those whom God hath set " over me, which I acknowledge to be you; " and fearing only in obeying you, to disobey " you. I most humbly and earnestly beseech " you to judge for me, whether your letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a " more clear expression of your command and " pleasure; which when vouchsafed to me, will " find most ready and chearful observance from

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" &c." ABOUT this time, the marquis of Ormond, ormond in the lord Castlebaven, and the bithop of Clogher, great direflecting on the desperate condition of their af-fires. fairs, appointed a meeting in West-meath, with the gentlemen of that county, to consider of some better way to support their cause, which was now almost ruin'd every where. In this meeting Ormond propos'd; " First, Whether they were able " to raise such forces, as might be sufficient to " engage with Cromwell. Secondly, In case they " were not able to fight, whether it were not " necessary with all the forces they could make, " to fall into the English quarters, and there to " burn and destroy what they could, that they " might not be able to subsist. Thirdly, If this were " not feafible, then whether it were not most con-" venient for them all to join in some propositions " of peace for the whole kingdom; or every one " for himself, to make his particular application." This last expedient was most approv'd of by some; but the chief of them being conscious of their own

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guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good conditions, when necessity oblig'd them to be supplicants; and therefore to molest the English in their quarters was judg'd to be most adviseable for them all, thereby to protract time, till they should have a fit opportunity to escape out of the kingdom. THE lord-lieutenant having well refresh'd his

army after the fiege of Kilkenny, march'd from

Carrick, and fet down before Clonmell, another confiderable place, in which was a garrison of

Cromquell belieges Clonmell.

two thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty horse. No sooner was the siege form'd but colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were order'd to march away with a detachment of two thousand five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, to prevent Ormand's design of falling into the parliament's quarters; and notice hereof being fent to Sir Charles Coot, he thereupon took the field with three thousand men. But the enemy shifting from place to place to avoid fighting, colonel Reynolds, that his men might not remain idle, befieged Tecrogham. In the mean time, the lord Broghill being detach'd with another party of one thousand four hundred horse and dragoons, Lord Brog. and one thousand two hundred foot, to fight the bill defeats bishop of Ross, who with five thousand men, was the bishop marching to relieve Clonmel, he soon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about feven hundred upon the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as also the bishop himself with the standard of the church of Munster. The lord Brogbill's horse are said to have done the service before the foot came up, and at fuch a pass, where a hundred musqueteers might have repel'd all the horse in Ireland. The bishop was carry'd to a castle which was

kept

of Ross.

1650.

kept by his own forces, and there hang'd before the walls, in the fight of the garrison; who were fo difmay'd at it, that they immediately furrender'd the castle to the parliament's forces. This bishop us'd to fay, There was no way to secure the English, but by hanging them; and now himself met with the same sate.

THESE advantages were a great encouragement to those who lay before Clonmel; which the lord-lieutenant us'd more than ordinary induftry to reduce, understanding that its defendants were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all respects prepar'd to make a vigorous refistance. Besides, it was govern'd by an active Irish-man, one Hugh O-Neal, who had employ'd all hands in the town for casting up new counterscarps on the infide of the old walls, and doing every thing else that might tend to secure the place; so that it seem'd impossible

to gain it by affault.

HOWEVER, the valiant and active Cromwell. whose business now requir'd a quick dispatch, in regard that his fervice was likely very foon to be wanted elsewhere, resolv'd to try that course: And so having summon'd the governour to sur- clonnell render, and receiving no fatisfactory answer, he taken by order'd the great guns to be planted; which did fuch noble execution, that a breach was very foon open'd, which the befiegers, upon a fignal given, courageously enter'd, and met with as gallant refiftance from the befieged; notwithstanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful success, there being a great slaughter on both fides: But at last the enemy was forc'd to quit the place, and betake themselves to flight; and though they were very much favour'd by some hills near the town, yet could they not es-

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cape the fury of the victorious foldiers, who killed many of them in the pursuit. An eminent
commander in the army, who was himself in this
fight, gave this account of it: "That they
"found in Clonmell the stoutest enemy that ever
"was found by the army in Ireland; and it was
"his opinion, and of many more, that there was
"never seen so hot a storm of so long a conti"nuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in
"England nor Ireland." The subduing of this
place, though with so much difficulty, made such
an impression on many more, that in a very little time they submitted without so much as striking a stroke.

Other fuccesses in Ireland.

WHILE Cromwell was thus conquering in one part of Ireland, Coot and Venables had the like success in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: The bishop of Clogher was here entirely routed, and being taken prisoner, met with the same sate as the bishop of Ross; and in this sight three thousand of the old Irish rebels were sain.

Thus the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with fuccess; and he gave a constant account of his proceedings to the parliament and council of state, in all his letters exhorting them to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due. His proceeding so prosperously in his affairs, and obtaining thereby so great a sway, occasioned a book to be dispersed about this time, entituled, The character of king Cromwell; which, though suppress'd for a libel, is said to have been even receiv'd as a kind of prophecy. And indeed by the good government of the army in Ireland, and the great success of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell obtained a very great interest, not only in the officers of the army, both there and here,

but likewise in the parliament and council of 1650. state, and all their party; only the Scots and Presbyterians were generally no favourers of him or his proceedings. He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, which he had miss'd of before; and had actually block'd up Water- cromepell ford, when about the middle of May, he was by appoints a new order, or rather request of the parliament, Ireton his obliged to leave the finishing of his so far extended conquests to his son-in-law Ireton, whom, for that purpose, he constituted lord-deputy. He had been in Ireland about nine months; a very inconfiderable time, if we respect the great work he perform'd therein, which was more than ever any king or queen of England was able to do in fo many years before.

WATERFORD was furrender'd foon after his All Iredeparture; and so remarkable was the parlia-land in a ment's fuccess in all parts of that kingdom, thro' manner the active valour, prudence, and industry of the by him. lord-lieutenant Cromwell, and those whom he employ'd under him, that in less than a year's time, they were masters of all but Limerick, Galloway, and some few garrisons and forces on the Fastnesses. Before the lord-governour lest the isle, that he might the better weaken the Irish, he contriv'd means for transporting no less than forty thousand of them out of the nation, into the service of foreign princes; of whom few ever return'd again to their native country: So great a scourge was he to that rebellious and blood-

thirsty generation. CROMWELL having appointed Ireton his de- His triputy, and visited those places in Munster, which umphant had lately submitted to the parliament, with de-return to fign to settle the civil as well as military office. England. fign to fettle the civil as well as military affairs of that province; for which end he made John Coke, Esq; chief justice of Munster; and having order'd

1650. order'd all things in the best manner that was possible, he embark'd for England, and failed home, as 'twere, in triumph. After a boifterous passage, he landed at Bristol, where the great guns were fir'd thrice over at his arrival, and he was welcom'd with many other demonstrations of Hence, without delay, he posts for London; and on Hounslow-Heath, was met by the lord-general Fairfax, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of people, who came out of curiofity to fee him, who had made himself so famous, and acquir'd fuch high renown by his great and valiant actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to Hyde-Park is faluted with great guns, and feveral volleys of thot from colonel Barkflead's regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpose. Thus in a triumphant manner he enter'd the city of London, amidst a croud of attendants, friends, citizens, &c. and was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy. Here 'tis observ'd, that as he did not refuse the honours that were paid to him on this occasion, so he shew'd he had too much sense to make much account of them; for as he was paffing by Tyburn, a certain flatterer pointing to the crouds of people that came to meet him, and faying, See what a multitude of people come to attend your triumph; he answer'd with a smile and very unconcern'd, More would come to see me hang'd. Being conducted to the Cock-pit, which had been prepar'd for his reception, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and many other persons of quality, paid their vifits to him, congratulating the fafe arrival of his excellency, and expreffing their own and the nation's great obligations to him. Having resum'd his place in parliament, the speaker in an elegant speech gave him the thanks

thanks of the house, for the great and faithful 1650. fervices he had perform'd for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland: After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the prefent state and condition of

that kingdom.

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AND here, as it will not fall in our way in the Ireton's remaining part of this history, we shall conclude death and this chapter with the death and character of the character. lord-deputy Ireton, who died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure. He had proceeded very fuccessfully in his new government and command; and after the taking of feveral places, giving articles to some, and making examples of others, he attempted the firong city of Limerick, which, after a long flege, at last furrendered to him: But falling fick of the Plague here shortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. This man has been highly extolled by fome, and as much condemned by o-So far as we have had occasion to mention him in this History, we have given as just an account of his actions and proceedings as we could; wherein the reader must be left to censure or acquit him as he shall think fit, after we have given this short character of him from Whitelock, who feems the most impartial: "This gentle-" man, fays he, was a person very active and in-" dustrious (or, as he says elsewhere, a man of " industry and invention) and stiff in his ways " and purposes: He was of good abilities for " counsel as well as action; and made much use " of his pen, and was very forward to reform the " proceedings in law, wherein his having been " bred a lawyer was an help to him. He was " frout in the field, and wary and prudent in his " counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the bufiness of a common-wealth. He married Cromwell's

"well's daughter, who had a great opinion o him; and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so far as Ireton could. His death fruck a great sadness into Cromwell; and indeed it was a great loss to him, of so able, and active, so saithful, and so near a relation, and officer under him." The new common-wealth had also a great loss by his death; who, to express their gratitude for his important services, ordered his body to be brought over to England; where having first lain in state in Somerset-House, he was inter'd at Westminster among the English kings, with the greatest pomp and magnificence.

CHAP. III.

From Cromwell's return out of Ireland, to the battle of Dunbar.

N less than a month after the lord-lieutenant's

return from his conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by the parliament in a new expedition. The scots against the Scots; who, upon the king's death, treat with had proclaimed his son, prince Charles, king of king. Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and sent commissioners to him at the Hague, to invite his

commissioners to him at the Hague, to invite his majesty into Scotland, or rather to acquaint him upon what terms he might come thither: For though they had declar'd his right to succession, yet before he should be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he was to "Give satisfacti-

" on to the kingdom in those things which concerned the security of religion, the unity be-

" twixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace

of that kingdom, according to the national coevenant, and the folemn league and covenant."

Whilst

Whilst these things were transacting, the king 1650. began to perceive, that the states-general were very uneasy at his continuance in their dominions, fearing it might give fome umbrage to the English common-wealth, with whom they had no mind to break. They gave daily intimations, That the king's residing at the Hague, would be very inconvenient for them; and 'twas owing wholly to the great interest and dexterity of the prince of Orange, that they did not fend a message directly to desire him to depart. However, the king refolv'd to remove; and an accident happen'd at this time, which hasten'd that resolution; which was the affaffination of Dr. Doriflaus at the Dr. Dori-Hague. This man had been concern'd in the flaus murlate king's trial; and being fent as an agent from der'd at England, for the begetting and continuing a right the Hague. understanding and fair correspondence betwixt the two republicks, while he was at supper in his lodgings, with many others at the table, fix men enter'd the room with their swords drawn, and bid those at the table not stir, for they intended no barm to any but the agent, who came from the rebels in England, who had lately murdered their king. Hereupon one Whitford pulled Dorislaus from the table, and killed him at his feet, faying, Thus dies one of the Regicides: And so putting up their fwords, they went quietly out of the house, and escaped unpunished, though the flates pretended they had used their utmost endeavours to get them apprehended.

THE king left the Hague in May, 1649, taking his journey into France, where he staid some months with the queen his mother at St. Germans: But the court of France growing uneasy at his continuance there, he at length embarked for the isle of Jersey, which together with Guernsey, Man, and Scilly, had not yet submitted to the parlia-IT ment.

1650. The Scots proceed in their treaty with the king.

IT was no fooner known in Scotland, that the king was arrived at Fersey, but Sir George Windram laird of Libberton was fent with a meffage to him; who, in the beginning of October, prefented the following defires and offers of the states of Scotland: First, " That he would fign " the covenant, and pass an act for all persons to " take it. Secondly, That he would pass the acts " of parliament in Scotland, which were rati-

" fied by their two last fessions. Thirdly, That " he would withdraw his commission from the " marquess of Montross. Fourthly, That he would

co put away all papists from about him. Fifth-" ly, That he would appoint some place in Hol-" land to treat with commissioners from the e-

" states of Scotland. Sixthly, That he would

" give a speedy answer." ABOUT this time, the rulers in England having prepar'd a fleet against the isle of ferfey, it was judged necessary for his majesty to leave that place, and return thro' France to Breda. Here he fell into new treaties with the Scotch commisfioners, who waiting on him about the latter end of March, infifted on his compliance with the following propositions from the kirk and states of Scotland: " Firft, That all excommunicated per-" fons should be forbid access to the court. Se-" condly, That the king would by folemn oath, " and under his hand and feal, declare his al-" lowance of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the folemn league and covenant of the

" three nations. Thirdly, That he should con-" firm all acts of parliament, enjoining the fo-

" lemn league and covenant, establishing Presby-" tery, the directory, the confession of faith and " catechism in the kingdom of Scotland, as they

" are already approved by the general affembly " of the kirk, and the parliament; and that he

" would

" would observe the same in his own family, and

" fwear never to oppose, or endeavour the alte-" ration of the same. Fourthly, That he would

" confent, that all civil matters might be deter-

" mined by the present and subsequent parlia-

" ments in Scotland, and all matters ecclesiastical

" by the general affembly of the kirk."

WHILE the king was consulting with his friends Unfortuwhat was best to be done in this exigency, an ac- nate expecident happened that had like to have broke off dition of the treaty. Whilst his majesty resided at the the marques of Hague, the marquess of Montross waited on him, Montross. and undertook, if he would follow his advice, to restore him to his kingdoms by force of arms. He only defired of the king power to act in his name, and a supply in money, with a letter recommending him to the king of Denmark for some ships,

and fuch arms as he could spare.

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ALL these being granted by the king, and preparations made for the expedition, Montro/s, with no more than fix or feven hundred men, in four ships, resolv'd to venture his fortune, expecting to join wirh the northern people in Scotland, who had formerly experienc'd his great bravery and conduct. He got first to the islands of Orkney, and from thence into the Highlands; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken, Lesley having ordered colonel Straughan to advance towards him, with three hundred choice horse; who in April, 1650, set upon this ill compos'd body of Montross, and utterly routed them. Montross fled, but was at last betray'd by one of those to whom he entrusted himself, Mackland of Assim, and was brought prisoner to Edinburgh. He was carried through the streets with the most brutal infamy that could be devis'd, and in a few days, by a fentence pronounced by the lord Lowden, was hanged upon a gibbet thirty foot high,

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for three hours; after which he was quartered, and his head fet upon the Talbooth, and his legs and arms over the gates of Sterling, Glascow. Dundee, and Aberdeen. His behaviour under all his fufferings was as great and firm to the laft, as the fury of the covenanters against him was

black and univerfally detefted.

THE violent party in Scotland were hereupon for breaking off the treaty with the king, tho' by the date of the marquess's commission, it appeared to have been granted before the treaty commenc'd: However, it was carried not to recal their commissioners. On the other hand, one would think that this cruelty to one who had acted by this commission, would effectually have prevented the king from complying with them. But he was in no condition to struggle with these men, being furnished with some Dutch men of war by

arrives in Scotland.

The king and fo quickly yielded to all their demands. And the prince of Orange, he embark'd for Scotland; where he landed on the 16th of June, after a demand from the council, That he would fign both the covenants before he set his feet on the shore; to which he was perfuaded to confent. He tarried feveral days at Dundee, attended with one committee from the parliament, and another from the kirk, who were urging his majesty to fign several propositions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to Edinburgh to be crowned.

An army rais'd by the Scots.

THE parliament and committee of estates were likewife endeavouring to raife an army for the king's fervice, as they alledg'd, and to that end had publish'd an act for training of every fourth man, who was able to bear arms throughout the kingdom. With this army 'twas suppos'd they intended to invade England, and secure the establithment of the king in his throne. The preach-

ers were very earnest in their persuasions to engage the people in this cause; and notwithstanding the several obstructions they met with, by reason of their divisions among themselves, they compleated their levies to about fixteen thousand foot, and fix thousand horse. The king was suffered to come once and fee this army; but not to flay in it; for they feared he might gain too much upon the foldiers. Special care was taken not to fuffer malignants or engagers, as they call'd the Hamiltonian party, to be in this army. who deferted their cause, or were thought indifferent as to either fide, which they called deteftable neutrality, were put out of commission. And now the preachers, thinking they had got an army of faints, feemed well affured of fuccefs.

WHILST these transactions and preparations were carrying on in Scotland, the common wealth of England took great care to provide for its own support and fecurity. To this end, as has been already mentioned, before the king landed in Scotland, it wasthought necessary to send for the lord-lieutenant Cromwell out of Ireland; who immediately ad- cromquell vised the council of state, not to be behind hand advises to with their enemy, nor to trust to any after-game, invade but to prevent the Scots invasion of England, by Scotland. carrying the war directly into Scotland. some scrupulous men amongst them objected, That to begin a war with Scotland would be contrary to the covenant: To which it was answered, "That the Scots had already broken the cove-" nant, and that therefore it was not now binding " on the one fide, after it had been diffolved on the other." So that they came at length to this resolution, "That having a formed army, " well provided and experienced, they would march " it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots " marching into England, and the miseries that 66 might

1650. " might attend fuch an invasion." The lord-gemeral Fairfax, being advis'd with herein, feem'd at first to like the design; but being afterwards hourly persuaded by the Presbyterian ministers, and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared, That he was not satisfy'd, that there was a just ground for the parliament of England, to fend their army to invade Scotland; but in case the Scots should invade England, then be was ready to engage against them in defence of his own country. The council of state being somewhat troubled at the lord-general's scruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking. This committee were Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, Whitelock, &c. Cromwell opened the conference; and after some previous discourse between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his diffatisfaction, declaring, That he did not fee that the Scots had given sufficient cause for this invasion of their country by the English. Upon which Cromwell proceeded Hisspeech thus: "I confess, my lord, that if they had gi-" ven us no cause to invade them, it will not be

in the committee, for **Satisfying** the general.

" justifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it, will " be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and " good men. But, my lord, if they have invad-" ed us, as your lordship knows they have done " fince the national league and covenant, and " contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilcon, which was by order and authority from " the parliament of that kingdom, and fo the act of the whole nation by their representatives; " and if they now give us too much cause of

" suspicion, that they intend another invasion ec upon

upon us, joining with their king, with whom 1650. " they have made a full agreement, without the " affent or privity of this common-wealth; and " are very busy at this present in raising forces " and money to carry on their defign: If these " things are not a sufficient ground and cause for " us to endeavour to provide for the fafety of " our own country, and to prevent the miseries " which an invasion of the Scots would bring " upon us, I humbly submit it to your excellen-" cy's judgment. That they have formerly in-" vaded us, and brought a war into the bowels " of our country, is known to all, wherein God " was pleas'd to bless us with success against them: " And that they now intend a new invasion up-" on us, I do as really believe, and have as good " intelligence of it, as we can have of any thing " that is not yet acted. Therefore I say, my " lord, that upon these grounds, I think we have " a most just cause to begin, or rather to return " and requite their hostility first begun upon us; " and thereby to free our country (if God shall " be pleas'd to affift us, and I doubt not but he " will) from the great mifery and calamity of " having an army of Scots within our country. "That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excellency will foon de-" termine, whether it be better to have this war " in the bowels of another country, or of our " own; and that it will be in one of them, I " think it without scruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declared that his conscience was not satisfy'd as to the justice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's defigns, he defir'd to lay down his commission. Upon which Cromwell spoke again, as follows:

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" I am very forry your lordship should have " thoughts of laying down your commission, by " which God hath bleffed you in the performance " of so many eminent services for the parliament. " I pray, my lord, confider all your faithful fer-" vants, us who are officers, who have ferv'd under you, and defire to serve under no other ge-" neral. It would be a great discouragement to " all of us, and a great discouragement to the " affairs of the parliament, for our noble general " to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commission. I hope your lordship will never " give so great an advantage to the publick ene-" my, nor so much dishearten your friends, as " to think of laying down your commission." But all this would not do: The general still continued in the fame mind, and concluded thus: What would you have me do? As far as my " conscience will give way, I am willing to join with you still in the service of the parliament; " but where the conscience is not satisfy'd, none of " you, I am fore, will engage in any fervice; " and that is my condition in this, and therefore " I must desire to be excused."

committee were most earnest in persuading the general to continue his commission; and yet 'tis said, there was cause enough to believe that they did not over-much desire it. Ludlow says, that Cromwell press'd the council of state, "That not-" withstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fair-" fax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; prosessing for his own part, That he would ra-" ther chuse to serve under him in his post than to command the greatest army in Europe." He also informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general

neral Cromwell, Who, fays he, afted his part fo to the life, that I really thought him in earnest. And indeed, if he had not been in earnest, I do not think he would have us'd the most likely arguments to convince the general of the lawfulness of the defigned expedition, and to prevail on him to continue his commission; as he certainly did.

THE committee having made their report to the council of state, of all that had pass'd, and acquainted them with the lord-general's total averseness to march with the army into Scotland: and this being order'd to be again reported to the parliament, new endeavours were us'd to prevail on his excellency, but without fuccess; and short- Fairfax ly after he thought fit to refign his commission. laying But the parliament were not much at a loss for down his one to succeed in that great office; for having fion, fufficiently experienc'd the valour, conduct, and cromwell faithfulness of lieutenant-general Cromwell, they is made foon voted, nemine contradicente, that he should general in be their general; and so an act pass'd, For constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, E/q; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces rais'd, and to be rais'd, by authority of parliament, within the common-wealth of England.

A DAY or two after, there was a private con- A private ference between general Cromwell and colonel confer-Ludlow; the occasion whereof was this: The ge- ence beneral told Ludlow, as he fat by him in the house, tween Cromwell that having observ'd an alteration in his looks and and Lud. carriage towards him, he apprehended that he low. had entertained some suspicions of him; and being persuaded of the tendency of both their defigns to the good of the publick, he defired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the grounds of their mistakes and misapprehensions, and a foundation might be laid for a good understanding between them for the

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future.

1650. future. Ludlow answered, that he discovered in him what he had never perceived in himself; yet fince he was pleas'd to do him the honour to defire a free conversation with him, he affured him of his readiness therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to retire to a private room; where general Cromwell endeavour'd to perfuade Ludlow of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, rubo in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick cause; affuring him, That his intentions were entirely directed to the good of the people, and that he was most ready to sacrifice his life in their service. Ludlow confess'd his former diffatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were treating with the king, whom he looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous where they shot a foldier to death, and imprison'd several others, upon the account of that treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been done without authority, and for finister ends: Yet as they had fince manifested their adherence to the common-wealth, he was well enough fatisfy'd, though fome things were still carry'd otherwise than he could wish. Hereupon (as Ludlow himfelf, who relates this conference, tells us) the general acknowledged, that his diffatisfaction with the army whilst they were treating with the king, was founded upon good reasons, and excus'd what had been done at the rendezvous, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have follow'd upon that division, if it had not been seasonably prevented. He further tells us, that the general profess'd to defire nothing more, than that

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that the government of the nation might be fet- 1650. tled in a free and equal common-wealth; acknowledging, that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them. Then after a long discourse, savouring much of enthusiasm, aster the manner of those times, he added, "That " it was his intention to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to make a thorough refor-" mation of the clergy and law: But, said he, " the sons of Zerviah are yet too strong for us; " and we cannot mention the reformation of the ce law, but they presently cry out, we design to destroy property; whereas the law, as 'tis now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor: " Affirming, that Mr. Coke, then justice in Irece land, by proceeding in a summary and expedi-"tious way, determin'd more causes in a week, than Westminster-ball in a year." He said further, "That Ireland was as a clean Paper " in that particular, and capable of being govern'd by fuch laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which may be so impar-" tially administer'd, as to be a good precedent even to England itself, where, when they once " perceive property preserv'd at an easy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themfelves to be cheated and abused, as now they are." BEFORE the lord-general's departure for the He con-

Scotch expedition, he mov'd the council of state, fults a-That fince they had employ'd him about a bout the work which would require all his care, they Ireland. would be pleas'd to ease him of the affairs of " Ireland:" Which they not consenting to, he then moved, "That they would at least fend over some commissioners for managing the civil Affairs; affuring them likewise, that the mili-

cc tary being more than major-general Ireton could " possibly carry on, without the affistance of " fome general officer to command the horse, which employment was become vacant by the cc death of the brave lieutenant-general Fones. it was absolutely necessary to commissionate some " worthy person for that employment, and to authorize him to be one of their commissioners of for the civil government." And thereupon he mentioned colonel Ludlow as a fit person for that charge; telling them, "That tho' he himself was empowered by virtue of his commission from the parliament, to nominate the lieute-" nant-general of the horse, yet because the gen-" tleman he propos'd, was a member of parlia-" ment, and of the council of state, he defired, " for the better fecuring the obedience of the " army to him, that the parliament might be " mov'd to nominate and appoint him to that " employment." In the end the council agreed, "That the house should be moved to appoint co-" lonel Ludlow lieutenant-general of the horse in " Ireland; and that the lord-general Cromwell, " major-general Ireton, colonel Ludlow, colonel " John Jones, and major Salway, or any three " of them, thould be authoriz'd by act of par-" liament, to be commissioners for the admini-" stration of the civil affairs in that nation." And the parliament concur'd with the council herein, with the addition only of Mr. Weaver, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners for managing the civil government.

He fets out for Scotland. THE lord-general Cromwell having thus provided for the well ordering of the affairs of Ireland, on the 29th of June address'd himself to his journey towards the army in the north. He received great demonstrations of respect from the generality of the people, as he passed along; and

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on the 4th of July he arriv'd at York, accompa- 1650. ny'd with many great officers of the army. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen attended him, and Arrives invited him and his officers to a flately dinner, at Tork. where they were highly cares'd, and entertain'd with mighty expressions of joy. But having his business chiefly at heart, he staid here no longer than to order supplies for the army, and hasten their rendezvous.

BEFORE this, the committee of estates in Scot- The Scots land, seeming to be surprized at the news of the alarm'd English army's marching northwards, began to ex- fend a letpostulate the matter with the parliament; send-parliaing a letter to the speaker by colonel Grey, to ment. this effect, "That they wondered at the report " of the English army's advance towards their " country, and that many of their ships were " secur'd by the English contrary to the act of " pacification in the large treaty, whereby no acts of hostility were to be used against each other, without three month's warning given before-" hand: That the forces they were raising were " only for their own defence; and therefore they " defired to know, if the English army, now on " their march northward, were defign'd for of-" fence or defence; to guard their own borders, " or invade Scotland." Letters of the same import were also sent to Sir Arthur Hasterigg governour of Newcastle, major-general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell.

On the other hand, the parliament of England The parpublished a declaration of the grounds and reasons liament's of their army's advance northwards; some of declarawhich were to this effect: " First, That the Scots, the contrary to their agreement, had once already grounds invaded England under duke Hamilton, and of their were now ready for a fecond invasion; so that proceedthe English were advanc'd against them only ings.

"they could not claim to themselves any authority or dominion over the English, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stuart king of England and Ireland; and since that, promis'd to assist him against this common-wealth. Third-

" ly, That they declared against the English par-" liament and army, as Sectaries, ranking them with malignants and papists; and had resolved

" to impose their form of religion upon the Eng-

" life nation."

THE Scots perceiving that with all their arts the parliament of England was not to be impos'd on, now laboured by all methods possible to render their army odious, and incense the people against them. To this end they gave out, "That " Cromwell had a commission to come for Scote land with fire and fword, and was to give no quarter to any Scot; and that he was to have all he could conquer for himself and his foldiers." And they further reported, " That the English army intended to put all men to the fword, and " to thrust hot irons thro' the womens breasts." This exceedingly terrify'd the people, till they were somewhat eas'd by a declaration of the lordgeneral and the army, directed to the well affected in Scotland, to the following purpose: " That " being to advance into Scotland, for the ends ex-" press'd in the parliament's declaration; " considering the practices of some in that nati-

A declaration of the lord-general Cromwell to the well affected in scotland.

"and false slanders to make their army odious, and represent them as monsters rather than men; therefore, to clear themselves, they could do no otherwise than to remind them of their haborious when they were before in Section 1.

" behaviour when they were before in Scotland:
"What injury was then done either to the per-

" on, whose designs were by unjust reproaches

" fons, houses, or goods of any? Considering

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" this, it was hop'd that the present false reports 1650, would not affright them from their habitations." And they further declar'd from the integrity of their hearts, "That such of the gentry and commonalty, as inhabited where the army might " come; they being none of those who by their counfels laid the foundation of a fecond invafion, or clos'd with him who had endeavour'd " to engage foreign princes against the common-" wealth of England, and had exercis'd actual " hostility, by commissioning pirates to spoil " the ships and goods belonging thereto, should not " have the least violence or injury offer'd to them, either in body or goods; or if any should hape pen, upon complaint made, redress and satis-" faction should immediately be had. Where-" fore they defir'd all persons to continue in " their habitations, affuring them they should enjoy what they had without any disturbance." Copies of this declaration were immediately tent into Scotland; and the country folks that came to Berwick market, had their pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and disperse among the neighbours.

THE general in the mean time leaving York, He procame to Northallerton, and the next day to Dar- ceeds in lington, where, as he pass'd by, the train of ar- his jourtillery, which was quarter'd there, faluted him with feven pieces of ordnance. From hence he posts to Durham, where he was met by Sir Arthur Hasterigg, who conducted him to Newcastle, where he was governour, and entertain'd him there with a great deal of gallantry. Here the lordgeneral and his officers kept a folemn fast, to implore the bleffing of God upon the present expedition: and then having duly consider'd the affairs of the army, he settled a method for supplying it from time to time with provisions. This

1650. This done, he leaves Newcastle, and hastens towards Berwick; and his forces being all come up. he on the 20th of July caused a general rendezyous of them to be on Hagger ston-Moor, four miles from Berwick; where he was received by the army with great shouting and other signs of joy. Being all drawn up in battalia, there appeared a gallant body of about five thousand horse and eleven thousand foot. The general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then difmissed them to their quarters, whilst himself went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was fent into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of estates.

THE army being thus quartered upon the very edge of Scotland, the lord-general two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full prospect of the adjacent country, the stage whereon they were so soon to act their parts. Here he made a speech to them, declaring the grounds of their present undertaking, and something in relation to his coming from Ireland, and the providence that had defigned this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful and couragious, and then not to doubt of a bleffing from God, and all encouragement from himself. This speech was answered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the foldiers; who being ordered to march, went on He enters shouting as they entered Scotland. That night

Scotiand.

they quartered in the field near the lord Mordington's castle; where the lord-general, for the better preserving good order and discipline, caus'd proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, should offer violence or injury to the persons or goods of any 0-

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"in Scotland not in arms; and withal, that none 1650."

"on the same penalty do presume, without spe"cial licence to straggle half a mile from their
"quarters." From hence they advanc'd for Coberspath, and the next day arrived at Dunbar, Arrives at
where they were recruited with provisions from
the ships sent thither from England for that purpose: for the country afforded them none; the
Scotch estates having taken a course before-hand,
to clear all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh, of all things that might afford any succour
or relief to the English army. But this entertainment did not in the least discourage them, it
being no other than they expected.

THE army being somewhat refreshed at Dun- Marches bar, marched from thence to Haddington, twelve to Hadmiles from Edinburgh; and all this without the dington. least opposition, not seeing all this while the face of an enemy in arms: nor did they in all their march see one Scotchman under fixty years of age, nor any youth above fix, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their ministers telling them, " That the English would cut the throats of all " between fixty and fixteen years old, cut off " the right hands of all the youths under fixteen " and above fix, burn the womens breafts with " hot irons, and destroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army march'd through some towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breafts before they deftroy'd them, and children beg'd them to fave their lives; so much did the people believe what their ministers had told them.

THE next day after the army's remove to Haddington, they understood that the enemy was disposed to give them battle on a heath called Gladsmoor. Whereupon the English endeavour'd

Endeayours to draw the enemy to a general engagement, but in vain.

Beats them in **Several** skirmi-Thes.

1650. to possess themselves of the place before them. that they might have the advantage of ground in case they should meet them: But the Scots, it feems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this major-general Lambert and colonel Whalley were ordered to advance with one thousand four hundred horse toward Muscleborough, four miles from Edinburgh; land major Hains commanding the forlorn, fac'd the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day the lord-general drew up his whole army before Edinburgh, near which the Scotch army was encamped upon a very advantageous ground. Here fome skirmishes happen'd about the possesfion of king Arthur's-hill, a place within a mile of the city; which the English gain'd, having beaten the enemy from it; and foon after posses'd themselves of a church and several houses. But all these provocations could not prevail on the Scots to forfake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. The lord-general intended to have made an attempt upon them; but there fell fo great a rain, which continu'd all night, and part of the next day, and his men were so wearied out with hard duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his army to Muscleborough, there to refresh and recruit it with provisions. drew off, the Scots, who labour'd all they could to vex and diffress the English army, without coming to a general engagement with them, fallied out, and falling upon the rear-guard, put them into some disorder: but major-general Lambert and colonel Whalley coming in to their relief. routed the Scots, and beat them back into their trenches. Lambert was wounded in the charge, and had his horse killed under him; but they took two colours, and feveral prisoners of the enemy a

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enemy; whilst the king stood all the while upon 1650. the castle and saw the encounter. Some sew of the English were kill'd, but far more of the Scots, amongst whom were some persons of quality. After this, the English march'd on quiet- Retreats ly to Muscleborough, tho' in a very wet and weary to Musclecondition, that night they stood upon their guard, borough. expecting every moment to be fet upon by their enemy; as at last they were: for between three and four a clock in the morning, major general Montgomery, and colonel Straughan, with fifteen companies of choice horse, fell into their quarters with fuch fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horse in disorder. But the English army taking the alarm, charg'd them so home that they put them to the rout, and pursu'd them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing several officers and soldiers and taking many prisoners. The Scots, when they fell first upon the English, cry'd out, give no quarter, but kill all; and particularly they refus'd to give quarter to one captain Phineas, whom notwithstanding the English brought off. were two ministers in the Scotch party, and one of them was taken prisoner; and 'tis said the Scotch foldiers confess'd, that the ministers did most stir them up to cruelty. The lord-general, to shew his generofity, fent the chief officers of the Scots who were wounded and taken, in his own coach, and the rest in waggons to Edinburgh; which gain'd him great applause, and tended much to vindicate him from those reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd against him.

THE army having now well nigh spent their Marches provisions, the lord-general retires with them again to again to Dunbar, to meet and take in such fresh for supsupplies as were fent thither by sea, by order plies. of the English parliament. Here they receiv'd

their

1650. their tents and provisions from the ships; and the inhabitants of Dunbar being reduc'd to great want, the general order'd a great quantity of peafe, and wheat, to the value of two hundred and forty pounds, of that which was fent from

wards Edinburgh.

London to the army, to be distributed among Advances the poor people there. After convenient supply again to- and refreshment, and two days spent in exhortation to the army, and in feeking God for his bleffing upon their actions, they again advanced towards Edinburgh; where the Scots were keeping a folemn thankfgiving for their supposed great deliverance, imagining the English army was quite gone; and the ministers gave God thanks, for turning back the army of sectaries by the way that they came, and putting terror into their hearts, which made them flee when none pursued. But the fudden return of the army to Muscleborough foon made them asham'd of what they had been doing: tho' it feems, Lefley was not fo confident, but expected another visit from the English; for upon their return, they found Muscleborough more forlorn than before, he having commanded, That the gude women of the town, should awe come awdy with their gear, and not any stay to brew or bake for the English army on pair of death.

ABOUT this time, a trumpet came to the army from lieutenant-general David Lesley, with a declaration of the general affembly, containing the state of the quarrel in which they were to fight; which they defir'd might be publickly known, and was to this effect: " That the ge-" neral affembly confidering there must be just

ce grounds of stumbling, from the king's majesty's " refusing to subscribe the declaration concerning

" his former carriage, and resolutions for the " future in reference to the cause of God, the

" enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore

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" declare, That the kirk and kingdom will not " own any Malignant party their quarrel or in-" terest, but they will fight upon their former " principles, for the cause of God and the king-"dom. And therefore as they disclaim all the " fin and guilt of the king and his house, so " they will not own him nor his interest, any fur-" ther than he shall disclaim his and his father's "opposition to the work of God, and the ene-" mies thereof. And withal, they will with con-" venient speed consider of the papers sent to " them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate " themselves from the falsehoods contain'd there-" in."

To this the lord-general thought fit to re- His ariturn them this answer: " That the army conti- swer to " nued the same as they profess'd themselves the gene-" to the honest people of Scotland, withing to bly's de-" them as to their own fouls; it being no part claration. " of their business to hinder them in the wor-" ship of God according to their consciences, " as by his word they ought: and that they " should be ready to perform what obligation " lay upon them by the covenant. But that un-" der the pretence of the Covenant mistaken, a " king should be taken in by them, and imposed " on the English, and this call'd the cause of God and the kingdom; and this done upon the fatisfaction of God's people in both nations, as alledg'd, together with a disowning of Malignants, altho' the head of them be received, who at this very instant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and prince Rupert at sea on a Malignant account; the French and Irish ships daily making depredations upon the English coasts, and all by virtue of his commission; therefore the army cannot believe, that whilft malignants are fighting and plotting against them

" on the one fide, the Scots declaring for him
on the other, should not be an espousing of a

" malignant interest or quarrel, but a mere fighting on former grounds and principles. If the
state of the quarrel be thus, and you say you

" resolve to fight the army, you will have opportunity to do that; else what means our abode

" here? And our hope is in the Lord, &c."

He encamps on Pencland hills.

GENERAL Cromwell finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to an engagement, on the 17th of August march'd his army from Muscleborough, and pitch'd his tents on Pancland hills, within view of Edinburgh. In this march the enemy drew forth feveral bodies of horse and fac'd the English, but came not within gun-shot. The army being quarter'd on the hills, the lordgeneral fent out two troops of dragoons to poffess themselves of Collington-house. About this time, a serjeant in colonel Cox's regiment and three foldiers his affociates, were fentenc'd to be hang'd for plundering a house and stealing a cloak; which sentence was executed on the serjeant, for a terror to others; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the general to preferve the country, according to his declaration.

On the 18th the Scots drew forth on the west side of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the sea, to the number of three thousand horse, apprehending the English design'd to possess a pass over the said river. The lord-general seeing this, drew out a forlorn, and went in person before them, to shew how ready he was to sight. Being come near to their body, one who knew the lord-general, sir'd a carbine at him: Upon which, he call'd out and told him, That is he had been one of his soldiers, he should have been cashier'd for siring at that distance. This was all that was done; for the Scots still having

no mind to fight, return'd back again to their 1650. quarters. And the next day, part of the English army took the house of Redhaugh, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a garrison situa- Takes ted within a mile and a half of Edinburgh, and Redhaugh. had about eighty foot to defend it; and though the English storm'd it in the fight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve Threescore were taken prisoners here; and the place was of great advantage to the English.

ON the 26th of August, the Scots sent to general Cromwell, to defire a conference between fome of themselves and some of his officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient place appointed, the lord Waristown secretary of state, Sir John Brown, colonel Straughan, and Mr. Douglass a minister, with some others, attended for that purpose. The chief design of this conference, was to wipe off a pretended aspersion that was cast upon them, and spread over both armies, as if they kept themselves in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themselves from these calumnies, they affur'd the English, "That when oppor-" tunity ferv'd, it should be seen that they want-" ed not courage to give them battle."

THE next morning the Scotch army, as if they Attends design'd so soon to make good what they had said, the motidrew out upon a march; which the lord-general ons of the Cromwell no fooner observ'd, but he prepar'd to my. meet them, hoping now to have some fair play with them. And the foldiers also expected the fame thing, being overjoy'd at the very thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their tents, laid afide their knapfacks, and put themselves every way into a fit posture to meet and receive their enemy. But the Scots, it feems, had still no mind to come to

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1650. an engagement; for when the English army drew onear them, they found they were separated from them, by a great bog and a deep ditch; fo that they could not come at them to engage, without running fuch hazards as were not necessary at that time. All that the lord-general could do for the present, was to thunder against them with his cannon. Both armies stood all that night in Battalia; and the next morning, the great guns roared on both fides for about the space of an hour; by which one and twenty of the English were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, for all that, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a closer fight.

Retreats to Pencland.

UPON this, the lord-general Cromwell marched back his army to their former quarters on Pencland hills; where they were no fooner arriv d but they were inform'd, that the Scots had fent out a party to take in Muscleborough and Prestonpans, thereby to cut off provisions from the English army. Hereupon the lord-general gave orders for the army to march that way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their victuals. But it being a very flormy and tempeftuous night, and very dark, he stay'd their march till the next morning; when they arrived at Muscleborough without any molestation cleborough. from the enemy, who in the mean time took poffession of what they had left behind them on Pencland hills; and then dogging them in the rear. watch'd all opportunities to diffress them.

F. Orleans gives us this brief account of these various marches of the lord-general Cromwell. in order to bring the Scots to an engagement. " Cromwell, fays he, whose interest it was to

- endeavour to come foon to a battle, in a coun-
- " try where his army found nothing to subfift on, " march'd directly towards the enemy, who lay

encamp'd

" encamp'd between Edinburgh and Leith, to co- 1650. " ver those two places, and the heart of the " country. The cunning Englishman try'd all " ways to draw Lefley to fight; but he under-" ftood his trade, and it being his interest to " protract time, so to ruin the enemy's army, " which had neither ammunition nor provisions " but what came from England at a great charge, " and with much difficulty, he kept himself so " ftrongly intrench'd, that Cromwell durst not " attack him. The English general us'd all the " baits and stratagems known in war, to oblige the " Scot to fight him; fometimes drawing him " towards Dunbar, as if he would have befieg'd " Edinburgh, and again moving to get between " Sterling and him. But the Scot dexterously " avoided all these snares; and though the Eng-" lish army kept up close with him, he so order-" ed his motions, and posted himself so advanta-" geously, that the whole month of August was " fpent in those counter-marches, so tedious to a " man of Gromwell's spirit, who could never " meet with an opportunity either to fight in o-" pen Field, or attack his enemy in his camp."

By this means, and by frequent skirmishes and haraffing the English, the Scots hop'd at last to tire them out, depending much upon the difagreeableness of the climate to their constitution, especially, if they should keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in those parts. And their counsels succeeded according to their wish; for by this time the English army, through hard duty, want of provisions (the stores brought by fea being now exhausted) and the rigour of the feafon, grew very fickly, and diminish'd daily; the Scotch army in the mean time increasing, and continuing in good heart. The lordgeneral reflecting upon the fad state of his af-

1650. fairs, and confidering the weak and crazy condition of his army, refolv'd in this exigency to retreat with them once more to Dunbar. Authors differ as to the defign of this march; fome thinking it was to receive further supplies from the English ships; others, that it was in order to return into England; and others again suppose, that the general intended, by garrisoning Dunbar, to lie there fecurely for some time, till they might recover strength, and receive convenient recruits both of horse and foot from Berwick. The lord Clarendon fays, " Whether that march was to " retire out of fo barren a country for want of " provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; " and the feafon of the year would not permit " them to depend upon all necessary supplies by " fea;) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of " which they were poffess'd, is not yet under-" flood." And bishop Burnet tells us, That Cromwell being press'd by the Scoth army, retir'd to Dunbar, where his ships and provisions lay, This feems to be very true, and that Cromwell was then only on the defensive; but whether at his departure from Muscleborough he had actually design'd to return into England, does not appear fo certain: Though Ludlow tells us, that when the army came to Dunbar, they shipped their baggage and fick men, and design'd to return into England; and others fay, that Cromwell wanting provisions, was there shipping off his foot and cannon, defigning only the next day to break through with his horse.

To Haddington.

WHATEVER the lord-general's defign was, he, in pursuance of the foremention'd resolution, on the 30th of August, drew out his army from Muscleborough, and march'd towards Haddington. The Scots observing the English army to retire, follow'd

follow'd them close; and falling upon the rear- 1650. guard of horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming fuddenly upon them, put them into some disorder. But the Scots, as some say, wanting courage to prosecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overshadowing the moon, gave the English an opportunity to secure themselves and recover the main body. Being come to Haddington, where they were in continual danger of being affaulted by the enemy, the general order'd a strict watch to be kept, to prevent the worst. The Scots conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the English quarters on the west end of the town; but were foon repuls'd and fet further off. The next day, being the first of September, the Scots being drawn up at the west end of the town in a very advantageous place, the English drew out on the east into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited fome hours for the coming of the Scots, and perceiving that they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, pursuant to their former resolution, march'd away to Dunbar.

THE Scotch army follow'd at a convenient diftance, being reinforc'd with the addition of three regiments; and feeing the English lodg'd in Dunbar, hover'd about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and destruction, and looking down upon them as

their fure prey.

THE lord-general was now in great diffres, Is in great and look'd upon himself as undone. His army distress. was in a very weak and fickly condition, and in great want of provisions, whereby their courage also was very much abated; whilst the Scots were

To Dun-

were flout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And besides, they more than doubled the English in number, being about twenty feven thousand, whereas the others were but twelve thousand. Some say they had in their army about thirty thousand horse and foot; and the English were reduc'd to ten thousand at the most. General Cromwell, with this fickly company, was now hemm'd in on every fide by those greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make fure work, had also by a ftrong party fecur'd Coberspath, the only pass between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all provisions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the English army, who had not above three days forage for their horses. Thus were they reduc'd to the utmost straits, so that they had now no way left, but either to yield themselves prisoners, and tamely give up themfelves a prey to their infulting enemies; or to fight upon those unequal terms, and under those great difadvantages.

Calls a war.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d council of of September, call'd a council of war, in which, after some debate, it was resolv'd to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the feveral regiments were order'd to their respective posts. Here we are told by bishop Burnet, That Cromwell, under these preffing difficulties, call'd his officers together to feek the lord, as they express'd it: After which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by prospective glasfes discerning a great motion in the Scotch camp; Cromwell thereupon faid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. And

And the bishop says, that Cromwell lov'd to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. The Scots, it feems, had now at last resolv'd to fight the English, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continu'd, the English could not have gone up to engage them without very great disadvantage. This resolution was contrary to Lesley's opinion; who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of the states to give him his orders, among whom Waristoun was one. These being weary of lying in the fields, thought that Lefley did not make hafte enough to destroy the army of the fectaries, as they call'd them. Lefley on the other hand told them, that by lying there all was fure, but that by engaging in action with brave and desperate men, all might be loft; and yet they still press'd him to fall on. Many have imagin'd that there was treachery in all this; but the foremention'd author fays, he was perfuaded there was no treachery in it; only Waristown was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he should not have done. This resolution of the Scots, to fall upon the English, was for some time retarded by the unseasonableness of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already observ'd, Cromwell resolv'd to fall upon them.

THE night before the battle proving dread- Totally fully rainy and tempestuous, the lord-general took routs the more than ordinary care of himself and his ar- Scotch army in the my. He refreshed his men in the town, and a-battle of bove all things secured his match-locks against Eunbar. the weather, whilft his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being Tuefday the third of September, before they were put in order, general Cromwell drew out a strong par-

ty of horse, and falling upon the horse-guards. made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horse and foot advancing, the fight soon grew hot on all fides; till after about an hour's dispute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was totally routed. I wo regiments stood their ground, and were almost all kill'd in their ranks. The rest fled, and were pursu'd as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thoufand were sain on the place and in the pursuit, and ten thousand taken prisoners, many of whom were desperately wounded. Fifteen thousand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours were taken; and all with the loss of scarce three hundred English. Prisoners of note were Sir James Lumsdale lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord Libberton (who foon after dy'd of his wounds) adjutant-general Bickerton, scout-master Campbel, Sir William Douglass, the lord Grandison, and colonel Gourdon; besides twelve lieutenant-colonels, fix majors, forty two captains, seventy five lieutenants, &c. The two Lefleys escap'd to Edinburgh, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garrison, and Leith resolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable army, which had so lately triumph'd in a confident affurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half fo numerous, which at the fame time was reduc'd almost to the last extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon so firm a resolution either to conquer or die, and withal their falling fo fuddenly upon the Scots, when they so little expected them, but defigned first to fall upon them, feem to be the true occasion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himself drew up a narrative of this memorable victory,

and fent it by a courier to the council of 1650. state, who order'd it to be read in all the churches of London with folemn thanksgiving: And the colours taken in this battle being fent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Westminster-ball.

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Dunbar, to the battle of Worcester.

HIS great success put new life into the English foldiers, who by this means, after having been so long toss'd up and down, almost fpent by hard duty, and reduced to fuch extremity, that they were in danger of being starv'd, now met with good accommodation and refreshment, and had an opportunity to furnish themselves with all necessary supplies. Soon after the battle He takes was over, the lord-general, the better to improve possession his victory, and to secure what he had obtained, burgh and fent Lambert with a strong party of horse and Leish. foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and fecure Leith, that the English ships might there the more readily and conveniently supply the army with all necessaries. The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deferted Edinburgh, Lambert on the same day obtained a quiet posselfion of it, as also of Leith; in both which places were found several pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a confiderable quantity of provisions; which the Scots, by reason of their haste, could not carry away with them. But tho' the English had thus posses'd themselves of the town of Edinburgh, the castle still remained in the hands of the enemy; which, tho' judg'd impregnable, was at last reduced by Gromwell; as we shall see in its proper place.

THE lord-general staid some small time at Dunbar, to fettle matters, and to dispose of the prifoners; who being so numerous, that it seem'd as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them. about five thousand of them, who were most fick and wounded, were fet at liberty; and the rest were driven like turkies to Berwick, by the Eng-Till foldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after Lambert had taken possession of Edinburgh, the lord-general himself came up, and caus'd his whole army to march into that city; which was done without any loss, save that one of the foldiers had his arm shot off by a cannonbullet from the castle. And now all possible diligence was us'd in fortifying Leith, it being judg'd to be the best and most commodious shelteringplace the English could have in Scotland, for the winter-feafon.

On the Sunday after the lord-general enter'd Edinburgh, he sent a trumpet to the castle, to acquaint the governour, that the ministers who were with him might return to the churches, and have free liberty to preach there; but the ministers return'd him this answer, That they found nothing express'd, whereby to build any security for their persons; and for their return, they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon him who had hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob. General Cromwell reply'd in a letter

to the governour, as follows:

His two letters to the gover- conour of conour of conour gb.

"Our kindness offered to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity, thinking to have met with the like; but I am satisfy'd to tell those with you, that if their master's service, (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of sufferings would not have caus'd such a return. Much less the practices of our party (as they are pleas'd to say) upon the mi-

" nisters

ce nisters of Christ in England, have been an ar- 1650. " gument of personal persecution. The ministers " of England are supported, and have liberty to or preach the gospel, tho not to rail; nor under pretence thereof, to over-top the civil power, or " debase it as they please. No man hath been " troubled in England or Ireland for preaching " the gospel; nor has any minister been molested " in Scotland, fince the coming of the army hi-" ther. The speaking truth becomes the mini-" sters of Christ. When ministers pretend to a "glorious reformation, and lay the foundation " thereof in getting to themselves power, and " can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the " fame, such as their late agreement with their " king, and hopes by him to carry on their de-" figns, they may know, that the Sion promised, " and hoped for, will not be built with such untempered mortar. And for the unjust invasion they "mention, time was when an army of Scotland " came into England, not called by the supreme " authority. We have faid in our papers, with " what hearts, and upon what account we came; " and the lord hath heard us, tho' you would " not, upon as folemn an appeal as any experience " can parallel. When they trust purely to the " fword of the spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which " alone is able to square and fit the stones for the " New Jerusalem; then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem " (which is to be the praise of the whole earth) " the city of the lord be built, the Sion of the " holy one of Israel. I have nothing to fay to " you, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant, " O. Cromwell."

THE Scotch ministers sent an answer to this letter, and general Cromwell another letter in answer to them; in which he fays: " We look upon ministers as helpers of, not lords over the " faith of God's people: I appeal to their consciences, whether any denying their doctrines, " and differting, shall not incur the censure of " fectary; and what is this but to deny christians their liberty, and affirme the infallible " chair? Where do you find in scripture, that or preaching is included in your function? Tho' " an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better " than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that " ascended up on high, may give his gifts to " whom he please; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, tho' Eldad and Me-" dad prophefy: You know who bids us covet earneftly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may proof phely; which the apostle explains there to be a " speaking to instruction, and edification, and comfort; which the instructed, edified, and " comforted can best tell the energy and effect of. " If fuch evidence be, I say again, take heed " you envy not, for your own fakes; lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moles reproved in Joshua, for envying for his fake. Indeed you err thro' the mistake of the scriptures: Approbation is an all of conveniency, in re-" spect of order; not of necessity, to give facul-" ty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear " lest error should step in, is like the man that " would keep all the wine out of the country, ce lest men should be drunk. It will be found an " unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the " liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition " he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, " judge." The ministers still refusing to return

to their churches, the lord-general caus'd English

ministers to officiate in their places.

ALL the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, together with the committees of the kirk and state, sled from thence to Sterling, where they endeavoured to secure themselves as well as they could. Hither likewise resorted those who had escaped at Dunbar, and did what they could to piece up their shatter'd army, that by a second encounter they might endeavour to regain their lost credit: To which end recruits were also rais'd by the committee of estates; but it was thought sit to make some change in the officers, not only in the inferior ones, but also in the great commanders: For old Lesley, earl of Leven, was laid aside with dishonour, tho' David Lesley was continu'd.

But all these methods signify'd but little, Several whilst the Scots were so divided among them- parties in selves, and split into so many parties and facti- Scotland. ons. The ruling party was that which was for the king and kirk; tho' these were again sub-divided into resolutioners and protestors. The resolutioners were fo call'd from their adhering to those resolutions, which were pass'd by the committee of estates, and the commissioners of the kirk, "That those who had made defection, or had " hitherto been too backward in the work, ought " to be admitted to make profession of their re-" pentance; and then, after such profession made, might, in the present extremity, be admitted " to defend and ferve their country." Against these resolutions some of those two bodies protested; who together with those who adher'd to them, were call'd the protestors. They alledged, "That to take in men of known en-" mity to the cause, was a fort of betraying it, " because it was putting it in their power to be-" tray it; that to admit them to a profession of

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er repentance, was a profanation and mocking of " God; for that it was manifest, they were wil-" ling to comply with those terms, tho' against " their conscience, only that they might get into " the army; and that they could not expect the " bleffing of God upon an army fo constituted." They had a great advantage over the others as to this particular; for this mock penitence was indeed a very scandalous practice. These proceedings gave rife to another faction, which prevail'd chiefly in the western counties; where a great many met, and form'd an affociation apart, as well against the king and the defection in the kirk party, as against the army of sectaries. These were call'd remonstrators, from their publishing a remonstrance against all the proceedings in the late treaty with the king, when, as they faid, it was visible by the commission he granted to James Graham (meaning the marquess of Montross) that his heart was not fincere; and when he took the covenant, they had reason to believe he did it with a resolution not to maintain it, since in his whole deportment and private conversation, he discovered a secret enmity to the work of God. They imputed the shameful defeat at Dunbar, to their prevaricating in these things: And concluded, "That therefore, according to the declaration of kirk and state, August 13, 1650. "they disclaim'd all the fin and guilt of the " king and his house, both old and new; and " that they could not own him nor his interest " in the state of the quarrel betwixt them and "the enemy, against whom they were to hazard their lives." The chief leaders of this party were colonel Ker and colonel Straughan. Their remonstrance, being brought to the committee of estates at Sterling, was after much debate condemn'd as divisive, factious, and scandalous; in which also the

the commissioners of the kirk concurr'd; but so 1650. nevertheless as, if possible, to bring Ker and his party over by fair means; to which purpose, several papers pass'd between them, and all methods were us'd to heal these divisions. Besides these, there was another party in the north, who were purely for the king, without any regard to the kirk.

WHILST the Scots were thus divided among Various themselves, and their animosities grew higher and motions higher, the lord-general Cromwell was active with lord-gehis victorious forces, which rang'd at pleasure peral about the country. Having his head-quarters at cromwell. Edinburgh, and having there given his men all necessary refreshment, he drew out the greatest part of his army for Sterling, and with them fac'd the castle, having at first some design to form it; but perceiving the horse could not well fecond the foot, he changed his refolution, and returned back to Edinburgh. Whither being arriv'd, he order'd all the boats in the Frith to be carry'd to Leith, to prevent the Scots ferrying over into Fife in order to join with the enemy there.

In the mean time preparations were making for the fiege of Edinburgh castle; in which the lord-general having given the necessary orders and directions, marched away fix regiments of foot, and nine of horse and dragoons, for Glasgow; and by the way of Linlithgow, sent a paper to the committee of estates, to try once more what might be effected by fair means; a copy of which was also at the same time sent to colonel Ker and Straughan, for the same purpose. There was little else remarkable in this expedition, but the taking of a small garrison near Kelsith: And it may be remember'd, that when the English came to Glasgow, and saw one of the legs of the late marquess

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1650. marquels of Montrol's hanging over the gate, they remembering his valiant actions, took it down and

buried it privately.

THE feafon now admitting of no confiderable action, the lord-general returned again to Edinburgh; where he published a proclamation against a company of flurdy fellows, called Moss-Troopers, who very much molested the army, and by the treachery and connivance of the country people, kill'd many of the English foldiers, and grew so bold as to steal some of the train horses. The proclamation was to this effect: " That finding many of the army were not only spoil'd and proclama " robb'd, but also others barbarously butchered and flain, by a fort of out-laws, not under the " discipline of any army; and finding that all " tenderness to the country produc'd no other efof feet, than their compliance with, and protecce tion of such persons: Therefore, considering " that it is in the country's power to detect and " discover them; and perceiving their motion to be ordinarily by the invitation and intelligence " of country people; he declar'd, that whereever these enormities should be committed for " the future, life should be required for life, and " a plenary fatisfaction for the goods thus ftoln, " of those parishes and places where the fact " should be committed, unless they did discover " and produce the offender."

Monk reduces Derlington house.

Soon after this proclamation was publish'd, colonel Monk, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was fent to reduce Derlington house, one of the nests of these Moss-Troopers; which, being join'd by Lambert, he foon effected, taking all that were within prisoners; whereof two of the most notorious with their captain, one Waite, were prefently shot to death. After this, Monk taking with

with him a party of fix hundred foot, march'd 1650. against Rollan castle; where, tho' at first he met with some resistance, it was quickly surrender'd And Rofto him.

THE lord-general, who would not let flip any opportunity, made what use he could of the differences and diffensions that were in Scotland, and endeavoured to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he fent feveral times to Ker and Straughan in the west to invite them to come in to him. This had that good effect, that Straughan shortly after withdrew himself from his party. and clos'd with the English, leaving Ker to command all himself. The lord-general still endeavoured to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an especial eye upon this party, since he could not prevail by fair means, he refolv'd, notwithstanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of Novem- Victory ber, he order'd major-general Lambert, and com- over Ker missary-general Whalley, with five regiments of and his horse, to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the party in fourth side of the river Clark Hamilton, on the west. fouth fide of the river Clyde; whilft himself march'd from Edinburgh on the north fide. Having staid here some small time, till he had good intelligence where Lambert and his party were; and withal, the weather being very bad, he marched back again to Edinburgh. Ker having notice of this, as also that Lambert was at Hamilton, thought he had now an opportunity to furprize him: And accordingly fetting upon a fudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horse, he before day with great fury broke into Lambert's quarters; and meeting with no refiftance at his first entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty foldiers having upon the alarm fuddenly

1650.

denly mounted, and being favour'd by a tree that lay cross the street, obstructed their march till the whole garison was alarm'd. The suddenness of this attempt put the English into some furprize; but foon recovering themselves, they to make fure work of it, left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy, and to fecure the rear, whilst the rest drew out with defign to furround the enemy's whole party; who, perceiving this in time, very dexteroully fac'd about and betook themselves to slight. In this encounter, which was but short, near a hundred of the Scots were flain, and as many made prisoners. Ker himself was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Those who fled were purfu'd as far as Air, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the remonstrators, were also put to the This fuccess was the more considerable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engag'd them against their Will; for they being well acquainted with the country, and having the inhabitants on their fide, could march about as they pleas'd; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the English to have follow'd them without a great part of their army; Lefley then lying at Sterling with the Scotch forces, watching all advantages.

The fiege. of Edin-burgb caftle.

This seasonable victory was soon follow'd by the surrender of Edinburgh castle, the most considerable strong-hold in Scotland, which was thought impregnable by situation and art. It is seated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance into it, and that both steep, and by which but two or three can go a-breast, and overlooks and commands all places about it; so that the lord-general's men were often very much gall'd in their quarters at Edinburgh, by the great guns playing from thence.

WHEN

WHEN general Cromwell came first before this strong place, which was soon after the defeat at Dunbar, he fummon'd the governour, colonel William Dundass, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to confult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing feem'd to encourage the attempting of it by ftorm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at last resolv'd to force it by mines. In order to this work, both English and Scotch miners were fent for, and towards the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the belieged no sooner saw, but they fell to siring upon it with five great guns, and feveral vollies of small shot. But this prov'd no impediment to the English, who with indefatigable labour wrought through the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a stand, but did not make them give over; for having contriv'd ways to make holes in the rock, they fill'd them full of powder, and endeavour'd to make it fly by firing.

BUT this mining work going but flowly on, the lord-general fearing it would not answer his defign, and that he should not be able to blow the castle up into the air, endeavour'd now to level it with the ground; and to that end, withmighty labour and pains, he rais'd a battery fortify'd with gabions and other contrivances, defigning to play inceffantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governour was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withstand the English industry; though it must be said of him, that he did his utmost to answer the expectations of those by whom he was entrusted with this important charge. The battery, notwithstanding all obstructions, being rais'd to a convenient height,

1650.

1650. four mortar-pieces and fix battering guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted against the castle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to fummon the governour; which he did on the 11th of December, in the following terms; "That he being refolv'd by God's affiftance to " use such means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the castle, did, for pree venting further misery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governour return'd this answer, "That " being entrusted by the committee of estates of " Scotland, for the keeping of the castle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them: And therefore he desir'd ten days time to fend to them and receive their answer; upon receipt whereof the general should re-ceive his resolute answer." But the lord-general knowing his time was precious, made this fudden reply, " That it concern'd not him to " know the obligations of them that trusted him; " but that he might have honourable terms for " himself, and those that were with him: But " he could not give liberty to him to confult with the committee of estates, because he heard those among them that were honest, enjoy'd not satisfaction, and the rest were now discover'd to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to; in which, if he defir'd to be fatisfy'd, he might have information at a nearer distance than St. John's-town." 'Twas defign'd, that this parley should continue till ten in the morning, December 13. but iome great shot flying from the castle the night before, order was given the next morning to try the mortar-pieces, three with shells, and the fourth with stones. Which being done accordingly,

the governour thereupon retured an answer to the 1650. general's last message; in which " He adjur'd him in the fear and name of the living God (which was " call'd upon in the acceptance of his great truft) " that liberty might be granted for him to fend to " the committee of estates; and said, that he would be very willing to receive information " from those of his country-men whom he could " trust." To this the lord-general reply'd, "That whoever he would appoint to come to " him, should have liberty for one hour; but " to fend to the committee of estates, he could " not grant." The governour took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for fome small time play'd with great violence against the castle. This mov'd him to send forth a drum, defiring a conference with the provost of Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which the general readily confented: But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmost importance, abfolutely refus'd to concern themselves in it, leaving the governour to take his own courfe, Hereupon Dundass was in great perplexity, and knew not what to do; till having revolv'd the matter a little in his mind, he at last came to this refult, to acquit himself manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enfign was immediately hung out in defiance on the top of the castle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lordgeneral thought it high time for him to exert his utmost force; and accordingly fent in upon them fuch continual showers of shot, that the governour in a short time thought fit to beat a parley, and offer'd to furrender, if his former request, of sending to the committee of estates, might be granted. But this being still refus'd, Dundass and his soldiers thought it not good to

"Tis furrender'd to Cromwell.

1650. hold out any longer against such violent affaults; and so entering upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement upon these articles: " First, That the castle of Edinburgh, the can-" non, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furni-"ture of war, be deliver'd up to the lord-gene-" ral Cromwell. Secondly, That the Scots have " liberty to carry away their publick registers, " publick moveables, private evidences and writs, " into Fife or Sterling. Thirdly, That as to those coods in the castle belonging to any person what-" foever, the owners should have them restored " to them: This to be proclaim'd, that all might take notice of it. Fourthly, That the gover-"nour, and all military officers, and foldiers, might depart without molestation, carrying " their arms and baggage, with drums beating and colours flying, to Bruntisland in Fife: More-" over, the fick and wounded foldiers to flay in " Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the " fame benefit of articles with the rest of their " fellows."

ACCORDING to these articles, this strong cafile, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was after a fiege of three months, deliver'd up to the victorious Gromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there also fell into his hands fifty three pieces of ordnance, forme of them remarkable both for fize and beauty, eight thousand arms, fourscore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeftry and jewels. The subduing of this place was a thing so unexpected by several, that the Scots cry'd out, That Cromwell took it only by filver bullets. But what appeared most strange to others, and which made well on general Cromwell's fide, was, That the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, should never attempt the relief of this most important place. THE

THE main business the Scots were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delay'd by the kirk and states, that he The king might have time to bumble bimself for his father's at scone. fins and his own transgressions. But the vigorous proceedings of the English put them at last upon hastening that which they of themselves were backward enough in. The first of January was appointed for this folemnity, which was perform'd at Scone, with the greatest pomp and magnificence that the present state of the nation was capable of. His majesty having subscribed both the covenants, the marquess of Argyle set the crown upon his head; at which the people express'd their joy by their loud acclamations of God fave king Charles the second. The main design now was to form fuch an army, as might not only fecure what they had still in their hands, but drive the English (whom they now call'd the common enemy) quite out of their country. To effect this, all persons were now promiscuously admitted into the army, commissions were granted for raising horse and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majesty set up his royal standard at Aberdeen, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary foldiers flock'd from all parts. From thence he marched to Sterling; where having muster'd his army, he made duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general, David Lesley major-general, Middleton major-general of the horse, and Massey general of the English troops.

THE lord-general Cromwell observing these proceedings, was very little concerned at them. However, to make fure work, he endeavour'd to possess himself of all those garrisons of the Scots, which were on the fouth fide of the Frith. To Colonel this end, he order'd colonel Fenzvick with his Fenevick own regiment, and colonel Syler's, to reduce Hume ca-

Hume stle.

Mume castle under his obedience. Fenwick immediately upon his receiving these orders, applyed himself accordingly to the work; and having drawn his men up before the castle, sent a summons to the governour, as follows: "His excellency, the lord-general Cromwell, hath commanded me to reduce this castle, you now possess, under his obedience; which if you now deliver into my hands, for his service, you shall have terms for your self and those with you: If you refuse, I doubt not but in a short time, by God's assistance, to obtain what I now demand. I expect your answer by seven of the clock to-morrow morning, and rest your service, want, George Fenwick."

THE governour, whose name was Cockburn, being, it seems, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling answer: "Right honourable, I have receiv'd a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a pass, to surrender Hume castle to the lord-general Cromwell: Please you, I never saw your general. As for Hume castle it stands upon a rock. Given at Hume castle this day before seven a clock. So resteth, without prejudice to my native country, your most humble servant, Th. Cockburn." And soon after he sent the colonel these verses:

I William of the Wastle

Am now in my castle:

And awe the dogs in the town

Shan't gar me gang down.

But the governour did not long continue in this merry humour: For Fenwick having planted a battery against the castle, and made a small breach, as the English were just ready to enter,

Cock-

Cockburn beat a parley. But the colonel would 1650. now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governour with his garrison, being feventy eight commanders and private foldiers, march'd out of the castle; which captain Collinfon with his company immediately enter'd, to keep it for the parliament.

COLONEL Monk was also detatch'd with about Colonel three regiments of horse and foot, to reduce Monk re-Tantallon castle. Being come before it, he found duces the Scots very refractory, whereupon he caus'd castle. the mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty hours: But these did little execution; till fix battering guns being planted, were fo well manag'd, that the governour and those that were

with him were forc'd to submit to mercy.

THE king having now got some authority, vi- Proceedfited all the garrisons in Fife, and endeavoured ings of the to put them in such a posture as to hinder the his party. English from landing on that fide the Frith. To this end also he drew from Sterling such horse and foot as could be well fpar'd, and quarter'd them all along the water-fide. Then he vifited the highlanders, endeavouring to compose the disfenfions that were amongst them, and to prevail on them to rise unanimously for him. Middleton marched out of these parts with a considerable body of horse and foot: And about the same time, the town of Dundee, as a testimony of their great respect to the king, and to shew their forwardness in promoting his interest, advanced at their own charge a compleat well arm'd regiment of Horse, whom they sent with a stately tent, and fix field-pieces with carriages and ammunition, as a present to his majesty then at Sterling; where all being join'd, made up an army of twenty thoufand men. And endeavours were still used for augmenting this army; for which purpose, the

1651.

1651. earl of Eglanton, with some other commanders, was sent into the West, to raise what forces they These coming to Dumbarton to execute could. their commissions, were suddenly surprized by a party of horse sent thither by colonel Lilburn, for that purpose; who took the earl himself, his fon colonel Montgomery, lieutenant-colonel Colburn, &c. and brought them prisoners to Edinburgh.

Great care of the parliament in providing **Supplies** for the army.

In the mean time, the parliament of England had a special regard to their army in Scotland, providing for their welfare in all respects. They took care to procure sufficient supplies both of men, money and provisions, which they were continually sending away to them; so that never was an army better provided for than this, as no foldiers ever deferv'd better encouragement than these. Particularly, admiral Dean arrived about this time at Leith with large supplies from London; and amongst other conveniencies, brought along with him feven and twenty great flat-bottomed boats, for transporting the army over into Fife. And not long after, captain Butler arriv'd at the same place in the Success (a stout ship formerly taken from the French) with eighty thoufand pounds for the payment of the foldiers.

The fickness of the general.

THE lord-general Cromwell had for some time laboured under a very great indisposition, occafioned by the unfuitableness of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter feafon in those This confind him wholly to his chamber, and utterly disabled him to act in person with the army, how great occasion soever there might be. Now was the English army under very sad apprehensions; and yet they were not so much dejected and dishearten'd, as the Scots were elevated and transported at this news; who highly pleas'd themselves with the very fancy of his death;

death; and thereupon readily believ'd the flight- 1651. est report of it to be true; and when once the conceit had possess'd them, could scarce by any means be brought to believe the contrary; fo that a Scotch trumpeter coming out of Fife to Edinburgh, about the restoration of a ship which the English had taken, very confidently affirmed to the foldiers, that their general was dead; and faid, they did well to conceal it, but all the world should not make him believe otherwise. This coming to the general's ear, who was now in a very fair way of recovery, to convince the man of his mistake, he order'd him to be brought before him. And the conceit was fo strongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have removed it. However, being now effectually convinc'd, he at his return affur'd those who sent him of the falfity of this report, which had pass'd so currently in the Scotch army. After the lord-general had been somewhat recover'd, he fell into a very dangerous relapfe, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary strong constitution, might have ended his days. But the rulers in England, very much fearing the loss of their general, as knowing no man fo fit for that high employment, first of all sent him two eminent physicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates; and prefently after, dispatched an order into Scotland, permitting him to leave the business of the army, and repair into England, for the recovery of his health and strength, as thinking the air of Scotland might be the occasion of his illness. Upon the receipt of this, he wrote a letter to the lord president of the council of state, dated June ad, which is as follows:

" My lord, I have receiv'd yours of the 27th His letter " of May, with an order of parliament for my to the "liberty to return into England, for change of flate."

1651.

air, that thereby I might the better recover er my health: All which came unto me, whilst " Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your lord-" thip fent down, were with me. I shall not " need to repeat the extremity of my last fick-" ness: It was so violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but " the Lord was pleased to deliver me beyond exe pectation, and to give me cause to say once more, He bath plucked me out of the grave. " My lord, the indulgence of the parliament, express'd by their order, is a very high and " undeferved favour; of which, although it be " fit I keep a thankful remembrance; yet I judge it would be too much prefumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I be-" seech you, give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the council, for send-" ing two fuch worthy persons so great a journey " to visit me; from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recove-" ry of my health and strength, which I find, " by the goodness of God, growing towards such " a state, as may yet, if it be his good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in " the station wherein he hath set me. I wish " more steadiness in your affairs here, than to " depend in the least upon so frail a thing as I am: Indeed they do not, nor own any instru-This cause is of God, and it must prosper. " Oh! that all that have any hand therein, be-" ing so persuaded, would gird up the loins of " their minds, and endeavour in all things to " walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my lord, " your most humble servant, O. Cromwell."

A Presbyterian plot. ABOUT this time a plot was discover'd in England, which had been carried on by the Prefbyterian party, and chiefly by the ministers of

that

that persuasion, in order to promote the designs 1651. of their Scottish brethren, and help forward his majesty's restoration to the English throne, as a king under fufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Cafe, and Mr. Drake, very eminent Presbyterian divines, befides some others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of state. Fenkins, Case and Drake confess'd themselves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble submission pardon'd. But Love, as being more For which guilty than any of the rest, was, together with Mr. Love is one Gibbons, beheaded on Towe bill, on the 22d executed. of August. He was condemn'd on July 5, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions were prefented from himself and his friends to the parliament, for faving his life, but to no purpose; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, several ministers, in and about London, came to the house, " Praying earnestly, " and in the bowels of Jesus Christ, who, when " they were finners, died for them, if not total-" ly to spare the life of their dear brother, that " yet they would fay of him as Solomon of A-" biathar, That at this time he shall not be put " to death." Upon this he was repriev'd for one month; during which time, all possible sollicitations were us'd to those in power, and particular application was made to the lord-general Cromwell in Scotland, who fent back a letter fignifying his free consent to the pardon of him: But some cavaliers stopping the post-boy, and fearthing his packet, with great indignation tore the lord-general's letter, that concern'd Mr. Love, as thinking he deferv'd not to live, who, according to them, had been such an incendiary in the treaty

1651. treaty at Uxbridge. And so the parliament and council of state hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his filence was defign'd as an absolute denial; upon which Love was executed on the foresaid day.

The general prepares for action.

GENERAL Cromwell was no fooner able to stir abroad, but with eager defire of action, he confulted with his chief officers to carry on the war. For this purpose, it was thought proper to contract their quarters by drawing in the outguards, or petty garrisons, which were of little use, and were often very much molested by the Scots. And now the army being thus drawn together into one body, were supply'd with thirty three waggons and carriages for the train from Berwick; and all things being in readiness for the campaign, the lord-general, on June 24th, order'd the army to advance to Redhaugh, where they staid not long, but march'd from thence to Pencland hills, a place well known to the English. Here they encamp'd in a most comely and regular order; and the lord-general feafted his officers in his tent, with several of their ladies, as the lady Lambert, and major-general Dean's lady, and many other English gentlewomen, who came from Leith to see the soldiers in their tents.

He mar. ches towards the enemy.

THE army having continued fome small time in this posture, the lord-general, in order to carry on the present design, march'd them away to Newbridge, and from thence to Lithgow; where from the battlements of the castle, they could discern the tents of the Scotch army, which lay encamp'd at Torwood near Sterling; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horse in great bodies lying about them for security, who were also fenced with a river and with bogs; fo that the English could not possibly drive them out of this fastness. However, the lord-

general,

general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his army in battalia so near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly feen; and fo flood for the space of eight hours waiting for the coming of the Scots; who thinking it better to spin out time, than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon, the lord-general drew off his army to Glasgow, where having somewhat refreshed his wearied men, he marched them back again; and understanding that the Scots had remov'd their camp to Kelsith, he wheel'd about, and shortly after quarter'd his army at Monks-land; within four miles of the enemy. But they still refus'd to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greateit hazard.

This so provoked him, that he resolv'd to fall He takes upon part of their forces, that defended Calendar-Calendar-house. And so on the 15th of July, he order-house two battering guns to be planted, which having played with great violence for about eight hours, at last beat down the walls in several places. Notwithstanding which, the governour

expecting relief from the Scotch army, which lay in fight of him, refolv'd to hold out to the utmost. Upon which, the lord-general sent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, since they could not be prevailed on to submit. These brave fellows having provided themselves with faggots, presently unloaded themselves into the enemy's moat, and so springing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly possessed themselves of the house, having slain the

governour with fixty two of his men. The Scotch army all this while look'd on, and, as if they were not at all concern'd in the matter, did not fend

one hand to the relief of their friends.

TH3

THE lord-general finding that he could by no

means provoke the Scots to a battle, refolv'd now

1651.

to bid fair for Fife, that thereby he might cut off those supplies from them, that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of Calendarhouse, the valiant colonel Overton, with fixteen hundred foot and four troops of horse, put out into the Forth, being order'd to land at the North-ferry in Fife; which he did in spight of those showers of great and small shot, that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the shoar; in return to which he caused his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with fo much courage and bravery, that the Scots were enforc'd to break off the dispute, and betake themselves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time, general Cromwell kept close up to the Scots with the main, body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in case they mov'd to disturb this enterprize. However, the king fent major-general Brown and colonel Holborn with four thousand men, to force the enemy out of Fife again; but before they could come up to them, Lambert and Okey pass'd over the Forth with two regiments of horse and The bat- two of foot, and join'd with Overton. And for the of Fife. the English with this unexpected reinforcement falling upon Brown and Holborn, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the spot, and taking prisoners major-general Brown himself, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, feventeen lieutenants, twenty nine enfigns, five quarter-mafters, fix and twenty ferjeants, five and twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common foldiers, with two and forty colours of horse and foot. Brown being thus defeated and reduc'd to the condition of a prisoner,

prisoner, liv'd not long after; dying, as was 1651. thought, of very grief for this sad disaster. Thus the English got sure sooting on the other side of the Frith; and this overthrow prov'd the bane of the Scotch affairs.

SOON after this blow, the English took in gar- The fort risons almost as fast as they approach'd them. Lambert, in the first place, came before a strong garytaken. fort call'd Innefgary, fituated in an Ifle lying in the Frith, betwixt Queen's-Ferry and the pass into Fife. The garrison here was so terrify'd at the news of the late overthrow, that being fummoned by Lambert, they were content to march away with only their swords by their sides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, and fixteen pieces of ordnance, to the English. About this time, a minister and two students came from Angus to the lord-general Cromwell for protection: one of them was excommunicated for not answering the two following questions: 1. Whether Presbyterian government in Scoland be not in all things conform to the word of God? 2. Whether Cromwell be not antichristian?

The news of the defeat in Fife being brought to the king, who still lay strongly encamp'd in Torwood, occasion'd so great a consternation in his army, that with great precipitation he decamp'd, and march'd into Sterling park. General Cromwell General follow'd speedily after them in the rear, and Cromwell marching over the ground where they so late-follows ly lay, he perceiv'd with what a pannic sear the scotcle they had been seiz'd: For they had lest behind them all their sick men, one barrel of powder, three of ball, a great deal of match, many muskets, and three barrels of hand-granadoes. The lord-general followed them within two miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an

engagement, but all in vain, they making all the

1651.

Bruntif-

land fur-

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haste they could to secure themselves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpose to continue here, on the 22d of July march'd away his army to Lithgow; from whence he canfed the greatest part of them to be transported over into Fife, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other fide of the The general himself retir'd to Leith, to provide for the supply of his foldiers; and here he receiv'd the welcome news of the furrender of Bruntisland to Lambert; who having brought the army before it, the governour of the place was fo difmay'd, that after a short parley he deliver'd it up on these conditions: " First, That the " foldiers in garrison (being about five hundred) " should march away with flying colours. Se-" condly, That the Inhabitants of the town should " have what belong'd to them. Thirdly, That all provisions of war, together with all guns " and shipping of war, should be deliver'd up " for the use of the common-wealth of Eng-" land." This place was of great advantage to the English; for it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the course of their conquests, have continued supplies

The geperal paffes over into Fife. GENERAL Cromwell having fettled matters at Leith, immediately cross'd the Frith to his army, which was then at Bruntisland; and so dispatching Whalley to reduce the smaller garrisons upon the coast of Fife, and leaving colonel West's regiment in Bruntisland, he with the rest of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of July, march'd away towards St. John's-town; that by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the Highlanders from sending any supplies, either of men or provisions, to Ster-

ling.

ling. Being come before it, he sent this sum- 1651. mons to the town, "That being inform'd the town was void of a garrison, save the inhabi- He takes tants and some sew country-men, he requir'd town. them to deliver the same to him immediately; promifing to fecure their persons from vio-" lence, and their goods from plunder." The messenger, who carry'd this summons was, contrary to the expectation of the English, deny'd admittance, and came back with this fhort reply from the townsmen, That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters. But to excuse the matter, the magistrates soon sent after him a message, declaring, "That the king's majesty " had fent a very strong party, able to main-" tain the town, and overpower them with a " governour: But always to observe civility with " his lordship, they had obtain'd leave from the " governour to excuse themselves, by shewing how unable they were to treat." It seems, the lord Duffus had the day before enter'd the town with thirteen hundred men; but the lordgeneral, upon his refusal of the new summons which he fent him, having drain'd the water out of the motes round about the town, and battered the walls with his cannon, oblig'd him to furrender in a day's time.

THESE wonderful successes, which attended The king the English arms, threw the king's affairs in Scot- in great land into great perplexity and diffress; where-perplexiupon he began to think of making an irruption into England. He was now much nearer England than general Cromwell, who could not posfibly overtake him, till after his majesty had been some days march before him. His fate depended upon the fuccess of one battle; and he had reason to believe, that all the northern parts of England were well affected to him; whither if

1651. he could once reach, he might hope to encrease his army by the accession of such men as would render it much more confiderable. Upon this, it was refolv'd, that the army should with all possible expedition advance into England, by the nearest ways that led into Lancasbire; whither his majesty sent expresses to his friends in those parts, that they might have their foldiers in a readiness to receive him. He also fent an express to the earl of Derby, who was then in the isle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancashire. The marquess of Argyle was the only person who diffuaded the king from marching into England, and that with no inconfiderable arguments; but the contrary opinion prevailing, Argyle retir'd to his house in the Highlands: And so, on the last day of July, the king began his march from Sterling, and on the 6th of August enter'd England by the way of Carlifle, with an army of about fixteen thousand men.

His army enters England.

THE noise of this sudden invasion gave a most terrible alarm to the whole nation, especially to the parliament at Westminster, who were still more difmay'd at the reports of the greatness of the king's army, and his design of mounting his foot-foldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to pass fevere censures on the lord-general Cromwell, and condemned him of rashness and precipitation; whilst he in the mean time took care to fatisfy them as well as he could, and affur'd them, "That he " would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they should give them " any trouble." Accordingly, that he might lose no time, he order'd major-general Lambert "To follow the king immediately with feven or eight hundred horse, and to draw as after him. " many others as he could from the country cc militia ;

General Cromwell fends Lambert

" militia; and to molest the king's march as 1651.

much as possible, by being near, and obliging " him to march close; not engaging his own party

" in any sharp actions, without a very manifest

advantage, but keeping himself entire till he

" should come up to him."

THE parliament also exerted themselves to the The parutmost on this occasion. The militia of most liament's counties was order'd to be drawn into the field, proceedto obstruct the king's march. Two thousand out gainst him of Staffordshire, and four thousand out of Lancashire and Cheshire, under the command of colonel Birch, join'd with Lambert and Harrison. The lord Fairfax drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were strictly enjoin'd by the parliament to fet out horse and men at their own charges. An act was also published, wherein it was declar'd, "That no per-" fon whatfoever should presume to hold any cor-" respondence with Charles Stuart, or with his " party, or with any of them, nor give any in-" telligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, " abet, adhere to, or affift any of them; nor vo-" luntarily afford, or cause to be afforded or de-" livered unto any of them, any victuals, pro-" visions, ammunition, arms, horses, plate, mo-" ney, men, or any other relief whatfoever, un-" der pain of high-treason: And that all per-" fons should use their utmost endeavours to " hinder and stop their march."

THE lord-general Cromwell being now ready The geto march into England in Pursuit of the Scotch neral leavarmy, endeavour'd to settle the affairs of Scot-in Scotland land in such a posture, as effectually to secure marches what was already obtain'd; and gave all the ne- into Engseffary orders to lieutenant-general Monk, whom land.

1651.

he refolv'd to leave behind him with a ftrong party of foot, and fuch troops of horfe, as might be able to quell any forces which should rife after his departure. This done, the victorious Cromwell, with the remainder of the army, marched out of Scotland, and on the 12th of August croffed the Tine: With which swift march being quite wearied out, he caus'd the army to pitch their tents on Ryson-Haugh, upon the brink of the Tine, whilft himself took up his quarters at Stellyhouse, not far from his soldiers. The mayor of Newcastle understanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the rest of the magistrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in England; and that they might be the more welcome to the foldiers, carried along with them, bread, cheefe, bisket, and beer, for the refreshment of the army. These supplies were very seasonable, and enabled the foldierschearfully to continue their march.

The march of the Scots,

THE Scots in the mean time by a swift march went on in profecution of their present defign. The king led them through Lancashire, where at the head of his army he was in all the markettowns he pass'd through proclaim'd king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for besides that the Scots daily deserted him, the country did not come in to him as he believ'd they would, being continually obstructed by the forces of the common-wealth, which spread themfelves over all places. The king with his army march'd on towards Warrington on the borders of Cheshire, the passage of which bridge was sharply contested by Lambert and his party, but was at last obtained by the king, the Scots, as they fell on, crying out, Oh you Rogues! We will be with you before your Cromwell comes. The king refolv'd to continue

tinue his march with the fame expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they should come to such a post where they might securely rest themselves; which the poor foldiers very much defir'd, being extreamly fatigu'd with the length of their march, and the heat of the feafon. His majesty hoping the interest that major-general Massey had in Glocestershire, would draw a great many in to him from those parts, resolv'd to direct his march that way. At last looking upon Worcester as a They proper place, he determin'd to settle there with come to his army; and accordingly, on the 23d day of Worcefter, August, he enter'd that city with very little opposition; where he resolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and that he might not be wanting in any thing, that might tend to the prefervation of himself and forces, he order'd works to be rais'd for better fecurity. Then he fent a fummons to colonel Mackworth governour of Shrewsbury, inviting him to yield up that garrifon to him; to which the governour return'd a peremptory denial. He also fent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raise forces for him in Montgomery-shire; but Sir Thomas detain'd the messenger prisoner, and sent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in Worcester, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of Derby. This brave man was the only person, who made any confiderable attempt to support the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horse; but before he could join the king's army, colonel Lilburn fet upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himself being wounded, retreated into Cheshire, with about eighty horse, and from thence to the king at Worcester.

1651. General Cramquell marches afterthem.

IN the mean time, general Cromwell having refresh'd his foldiers near Newcastle, immediately march'd away by Rippon, Ferry-brigs, Doncafter, Mansfield and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the rest of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Desborough, the lord Grey of Groby, major-general Lambert, and major-general Harrison; making in all about thirty thousand men. The common-wealth had indeed by their new levies encreafed their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before produced fo many foldiers in fo short a time: For the standing army, with those other forces newly rais'd by act of parliament, upon this occasion, are said to have amounted to above fixty thousand men.

THE lord-general being come up, and having observ'd the posture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, feven miles from Worcester, designing there, if possible, to pass over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detach'd a fmall party of horse and dragoons, to see how feafible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this these daring fellows pass'd, who finding the Scots took the alarm, prefently betook themselves to a church for securi-Hereupon Massey, who lay at Upton with about fixty dragoons, and two hundred horse, gave a camifado on the church; but major-general Lambert, having in the mean time pass'd over a new supply of horse, fell furiously upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forc'd them to a retreat; which Massey supported with fo much bravery, that fometimes facing, then fighting, and so falling off, himself brought up the rear, and never quitted his station, till he arriv'd arriv'd with his men at Worcester. In this encounter his horse was kill'd under him, and he receiv'd a shot in his arm. The bridge being thus gain'd, all possible industry was us'd to make it up; so that lieutenant-general Fleetwood's army quickly pass'd over; which still marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which salls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worcester: And the general, in the mean time, caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his side; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more straiten'd.

THE Scots drawing out to oppose the lieutenant-general's paffage, the lord-general refolv'd to divert their defign, or to oblige them to fight on great disadvantage: To which end, himself in person led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horse, and his own lifeguard, on that side of Worcester, which he defign'd to attack. Whilst this was doing, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, affifted by colonel Goff's and major-general Dean's regiments of foot, maintain'd a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lin'd thick with musqueteers, judging that to be the fafest way. And indeed they stoutly maintain'd their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbons's and Marsh's regiments came in and join'd with the others against them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engag'd by colonel Hains, Cobbet and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at last to secure themselves by flying into Worcester.

PRESENTLY after, the king calling a council of war, it was refolv'd to engage Cromwell himfelf. Accordingly, they on a fudden fally'd out against him with so much fury, that his invinci-

He totalthem in the battle of Woree. Acr.

1651. ble life-guard could not fustain the shock, but was forced to retire in some disorder; and his cannon likewise were for some time in the power of the king's party: But multitudes of fresh ly defeats forces coming in, at last turned the scale on Cromwell's fide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceness and various fuccess, till the Scots being over-powered by Cromwell's superior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confusion to secure themselves. The horse made as fast as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being closely pursu'd by some of the conquerors, who furiously flew through all the streets, doing fuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be feen for fome time but blood and flaughter. As foon as the lord-general had forc'd his way through Sudbury-gate, whilst this party were killing and flaying all they met with, he with some regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being just about to storm, he first ventur'd his person thro' whole showers of shot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would presently submit, and deliver up the fort; which they refusing, he soon reduc'd it by force, and without mercy put them all to the fword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very confiderable parties were fent after the flying enemy, and the country every where rose upon them. The flain in this battle were reckon'd about four thousand, and the prisoners taken in the fight and in the pursuit amounted to about ten thousand; so that near all were lost. The chief of the prisoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died foon after of his wounds; the earl of Derby, who not long after was sentenc'd to death, and lost his head at Bolton; the earls of Lauderdale, Carnwarth, Rothes,

and Kelley; the lord Sinclare, Sir John Packingmajor-general Montgomery, major-general Piscotty. Mr. Richard Fanshaw secretary to the king. the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; besides several colonels, and other inferior officers. There were also taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty eight colours, the king's flandard, his coach and horses, and several other things of great value. The king escap'd, and having wander'd for some time in disguise about England, he at last found means to embark, and landed fafely at Diepe in This great victory, which was justly look'd upon as the decifion of the grand cause between the king and the common-wealth, was obtain'd by general Cromwell on the third of September, the same day twelve month, that the Scots had fuch a defeat given them by his forces at Dunbar, as loft them their kingdom. Cromwell's word was the same as at Dunbar, The Lord of bosts. The next day the lord-general sent a letter to the parliament; which was as follows:

" I AM not able yet to give you an exact ac- His letter " count of the great things the Lord hath done to the " for this common-wealth, and for his people; parlia-" and yet I am unwilling to be filent, but ac- thereupon " cording to my duty I shall represent it to you, " as it comes to hand. This battle was fought " with various fuccess for some hours, but still " hopeful on your part, and in the end became " an absolute victory, and so full an one, as prov-" ed a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's ar-" my, and possession of the town; our men en-" tering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with " them in the streets with very great courage, " took all their baggage and artillery. What the

" flain are, I can give you no account, because we

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have not taken an exact view; but they are ve-" ry many, and must needs be so, because the " dispute was long, and very near at hand, and " often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about fix or feven thouer fand prisoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality; duke Hamilton, theearl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen; I hear, " the earl of Lauderdale, many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit objects of vour justice. We have fent very confiderable parties after the flying enemy: I hear they have taken confiderable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the country rifeth upon them every where; and I believe, the forces that lay thro' providence at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return. A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a thousand horse in their body that fled, and I believe we have near four thousand of forces following and interpoling between them ec and home. Their army was about fixteen thousand strong, and fought ours on Worcester fide Severn, almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged half our army on the other c fide, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; eyet I do not think we have lest two hundred men. Your new-rais'd ce forces did perform fingular good fervice, for " which they deserve a very high estimation and acknowledgment, as also for their willingness thereunto, forasmuch as the same hath added " fo much to the reputation of your affairs: They are all dispatch'd home again; which, ic I hope faction of the country, which is a great fruit of the fuccesses."

"THE dimensions of this mercy are above " my thoughts; it is, for ought I know, a " crowning mercy; furely, if it be not, such a " one we shall have, if this provoke those that " are concern'd in it to thankfulness, and the par-" liament to do the will of him, who hath done " his will for it, and for the nation; whose good " pleasure is, to establish the nation, and the " change of the government, by making the peo-" ple so willing to the defence thereof, and so " fignally to bless the endeavours of your fer-" vants in this late great work. I am bold, hum-" bly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the " promoting of his honour, who hath wrought " fo great falvation, and that the fatness of these " continued mercies may not occasion pride and " wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to " a chosen people. But that the fear of the "Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an au-"thority, and a people for prospered, and bless-" ed, and witneffed to, humble and faithful; " that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth " may flow from you, as a thankful return to our " glorious God: This shall be the prayer of, "Sir, your most humble and obedient Servant,

CHAP. V.

" O. Cromwell."

From the battle of Worcester, to the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

ENERAL Cromwell having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's party, staid no longer at Worcester, than to see the walls of it levell'd with the ground, and the

He returns in triumph to London.

1651. the dikes fill'd with earth, thereby to curb the U disaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to secure any enemy for the future. This done, he march'd up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thousand prisoners like sheep before him. Beyond Aylesbury, he was met by four commissioners from the parliament, whom they fent to pay him all the marks of honour and esteem. When he came to Acton, he was folemnly met by the speaker, and the rest of the members and council of state; and foon after by the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, and many persons of quality, with the militia and multitudes of people; who welcom'd him with loud shouts and acclamations, and several vollies of great and small shot. Whitelock fays, he carry'd himself with great affability, and feeming humility; and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and foldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God. After some small repose, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the speaker made a speech to him, congratulating his return after fo many worthy atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the house for his great and faithful services to the common-wealth. On the same day, he with his chief officers, was feafted in the city, with all possible state and pomp: And soon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a folemn thanksgiving day, and the other for a yearly observation of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewise settled four thousand pounds a year upon him, out of the estates of the duke of Buckingbam, and the marquess of Worcester, besides two thousand

thousand five hundred pounds per Ann. formerly 1651. granted.

SOON after the battle of Worcester, the isle of The isles Man, bravely defended by the heroick counters of of Man, Derby, and the ifle of Fersey, that had been long Guernsey, maintain'd by Sir George Carteret, were both re- and scills duc'd to the parliament's obedience. They had reduc'd: long fince been mafters of Guernsey, except the chief fort, call'd Cornet-castle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges the governour, but was about the latter end of October furrender'd by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly isles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were some time before reduced by a part of the parliament's

fleet.

MAJOR-GEN. Monk, whom the lord-general Monk fihad left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of nishes the that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very reduction good fuccess. Before the fight at Worcester, he took Sterling, the chief strength of the Scots; as also Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before us'd at Tredagh; and furpriz'd a convention of the Scotch nobility, among whom was old general Lefley, and fent them prifoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occasioned such a terror, that St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Dunbarton and Dunnoter castles, with other towns, castles, and strong holds, either voluntarily declar'd for the conquerors, or furrender'd upon fummons. Notwithstanding this; the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: But they were soon suppress'd and dispers'd by colonel Morgan: So that the English extended their conquests thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the illes of Orkney and Shetland, which now submitted to them.

AND

1651. The state of that kingdom

AND here I shall dismiss the affairs of Scoti land for the present, with the remarks that bishop Burnet makes on the state of that kingdom. after this absolute reduction of it under the power afterwards of the English. " After this, says he, the coun-" try was kept in great order: Some castles in the " highlands had garrifons put into them, that " were so careful in their discipline, and so ex-" act to their rules, that in no time the highlands were kept in better order, than during the u-" furpation. There was a confiderable force of " about seven or eight thousand men kept in " Scotland: These were paid exactly, and strictly disciplin'd. The pay of the army brought so " much money into the kingdom, that it conti-" nued all that while in a very flourishing state. " Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Air, and "Inverness, besides many little forts. There was co good justice done, and vice was suppress'd and punish'd; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation, a time of great peace and or prosperity. There was also a fort of union of the three kingdoms in one parliament, where Scotland had its representatives. The " marquess of Argyle went up one of our comor missioners."

General Cromwell holds a conference to confider of a fettlement.

SOON after the victory at Worcester, general Cromwell defir'd a meeting with feveral members of parliament, and some of the principal officers of the army, at the speaker's house; where, as Whitelock, who was one of the number, acquaints us, he propos'd to them, "That now the old king being dead, and his fon defeated, he held " it necessary to come to a settlement of the na-"tion: in order to which he had requested this meeting, that they together might confider and advise, what was fit to be done, and to be pre-" fented to the parliament."

WHAT

WHAT pass'd hereupon in this conference, we shall set down as we find it in Whitelock. Lenthall the speaker began thus: "My lord, this com"pany were very ready to attend your excellency;
"and the business you are pleased to propound
"to us, is very necessary to be consider'd. God
"hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve
"these mercies to some settlement, such as may
be to God's honour, and the good of this
"common-wealth, we shall be very much blame"worthy.

"HARRISON. "I think that which my lordgeneral hath propounded, is to advise as to a
fettlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, and so that the mercies which the Lord
hath given in to us, may not be cast away;
how this may be done is the great question."

WHITELOCK. "It is a great question indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it
were pity that a meeting of so many able worthy persons as I see here, should be fruitless.
I should humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood, in
what way this settlement is desired, whether of

" an absolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy."

GENERAL Cromwell. My lord commissioner "Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning, that we should "consider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed."

SIR Tho. Widdrington. "I think a mix'd mo"narchical government will be most suitable to
the laws and people of this nation; and if
any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it
O?

" most just to place that power in one of the

FLEETWOOD. "I think that the question, "Whether an absolute republick, or a mix'd

monarchy, be best to be settled in this nation,

will not be very easy to be determin'd."
LORD-chief-justice St. John. "It will be found

that the government of this nation, without fomething of monarchical power, will be very

difficult to be so settled, as not to shake the

c foundation of our laws, and the liberties of

" the people."

LENTHALL. "It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation, with-

out fomething of monarchy."

DESBOROUGH. "I befeech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be

" govern'd in the way of a republick?"

WHITELOCK. "The laws of England are fo interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without

fomething of monarchy in it, would make for

great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor

can we well foresee the inconveniences which

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will arise thereby."

WHALLEY. "I do not well understand matters of law; but it seems to me the best way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in

the fettlement of our government: And if we

" should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldest son hath been in arms

against us, and his second son likewise is out

" enemy."

SIR Thomas Widdrington. "But the late king's third fon, the duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms

against us, or infected with the principles of with the principles of White-

WHITELOCK. "There may be a day given 1651. " for the king's eldeft fon, or for the duke of

" York his brother, to come in to the parliament; " and upon fuch terms as shall be thought fit.

" and agreeable both to our civil and spiritual li-

" berties, a settlement may be made with them." GENERAL Cromwell. " That will be a business " of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I

" think, if it may be done with fafety, and pre-" servation of our rights, both as Englishmen

" and as christians, that a settlement with some-

" thing of monarchical power in it would be

" very effectual."

Much more discourse there was by several gentlemen then present. The soldiers were generally for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of Gloucefter to be made king; but general Cromwell still put off that debate to some other point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain thoughts of fetting up himself, his design in this conference, was only to discover the inclinations of these persons, that he might make a proper use thereof in profecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finishing stroak that was given to his successes, in the late glorious victory at Worcester.

THE commission of general Cromwell to be 1652. lord lieutenant of Ireland being expir'd, the par- His comliament did not think fit to renew that title and mission of office, looking upon them to be more fuitable to of Ireland monarchy, than to a free common-wealth; but expiring, they pass'd a vote, " That the act of parliament heis made " constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq; captain-ge-general " neral and commander in chief of the armies and forces

" forces rais'd by their authority within Eng-there.

" land, should extend to the forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been particularly named: And

1652.

"that the lord-general be requir'd to appoint fuch a person as he shall think sit, to command the forces in *Ireland*, and to commission him accordingly." And so lieutenant-general *Fleet-wood* had the command in chief of the forces in *Ireland* given him, to hold under the lord-general *Cromwell*; and under his conduct, that kingdom was in a little time brought into persect subjection.

A rupture between England and Hol-land.

WHILST the common-wealth of England was thus every where victorious at home, a rupture happened between them and the elder republick the states of Holland; which occasioned such terrible fea-fights, that no preceding age fince the creation had ever produced the like. Some time in the last year, the parliament sent over the chief justice St. John and Mr. Strickland, to treat of a coalition with the Dutch; but they apprehending that this conjunction might rob them of their trade, and be little less than making thema province to England, not only refused to consent to it, but rudely treated St. John; which was fo much resented by his haughty spirit, that he made the report of this embaffy little to the advantage of the Dutch. Upon this the parliament pass'd the act of navigation, which " prohibited foreign ships from bringing any merchandizes " into England, except fuch as should be of the " growth or manufacture of that country, to which the faid ships belonged." By virtue of which law the English took occasion to fearch the Dutch vessels, and often to make prize of them. The states hereupon sent over four ambassadors for the restoring and preserving a good understanding between the two republicks; but the parliament demanded the arrears for the Dutch fishing upon the coasts of England and Scotland, the giving up to justice those of the Dutch who survived, that were affifting in the massacre of the English at Amboyna; and a free trade up the Scheld. The Dutch seeing how little they were to expect from the English by a treaty, began to prepare for a war; nor were the others behind-hand with

THE first act of hostility was in December last year, when an English man of war meeting with some Dutch fishermen on the British coast, demanded the tenth berring, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the seas, which the parliament was determined to maintain in another manner than had hitherto been done. The Dutch not complying, they fell from words to blows; and the Dutchman shooting first at the English, the English man of war funk one of the Dutch ships,

which perished with all her crew.

THIS was but a skirmish; but the first great Several sea-fight between these potent republicks, was in sea-fights May this year; when admiral Van Trump, ac- them, cording to the instructions he had received, refufing to strike fail to the English, Blake the English admiral gave orders to fire at Trump's flag; which being done thrice, Trump, instead of striking it, poured a broadfide upon Blake. Hereupon both fleets engag'd from four in the afternoon till night; in which fight, the Dutch had one man of war taken, and another funk, one hundred and fifty men kill'd, and their whole fleet much damag'd; whereas the English had not one ship lost or disabled, and but sew of their men slain. The second sea-fight was on the 20th of August; when Sir George Ayscough, who was left by Blake to command in the Downs, with thirty eight men of war, set upon the Dutch fleet of fifty, and fifteen merchant men. This fight having continued three days, the Dutch loft two thips, one funk, and the other burnt, but the Eng-

1652. list none. On the 28th of October, admiral Blake, with vice admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Bourn, again engag'd the Dutch fleet near the North-Foreland, boarded and took their rear-admiral, funk two more of them, and one was The rest of the Dutch fleet being veblown up. ry much shatter'd and forc'd to fly, was pursued twelve leagues by the English, who lost not one ship in this fight, tho' many of them were damag'd in their rigging. Another furious fight happen'd on the 29th of November, which continued from ten in the morning till fix at night; when the Dutch fleet, double in number to the English, got the better of them, taking the Garland frigat, burning the Bonadventure, and finking three more. One of the Dutch flag-ships was blown up, and all the men lost but two; and Van Trump's and De Ruyter's ships were much damag'd.

A remark. able conference between general Cromwell lock.

But to return home: About this time, the lord-general Cromwell meeting with commissioner Whitelock, saluted him with more than ordinary courtefy, and defired to have some private difcourse with him. Whitelock waited on him acand White- cordingly, and after some previous discourse, the lord-general proceeded thus: "Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the of-" ficers of the army to particular factions, and to " murmurings, that they are not rewarded ac-" cording to their deferts, that others who have ventured leaft, have gained most, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in go-" vernment, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of ff truth; yet their insolence is very great, and their influence upon the private foldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings. Then as for the members of parliament, the ec army

army begins to have a strange distaste against 16,2. " them, and I wish there were not too much " cause of it; and really their pride, and ambi-" tion, and felf-feeking, ingroffing all places of " honour and profit to themselves and their friends. " and their daily breaking forth into new and vio-" lent parties and factions; their delays of bu-" finess, and defign to perpetuate themselves, and " to continue the power in their own hands; " their meddling in private matters between par-" ty and party, contrary to the institution of " parliaments, and their injustice and partiality " in those matters, and the scandalous lives of " fome of the chief of them; these things, my " lord, do give too much ground for people to " open their mouths against them, and to dislike " them. Nor can they be kept within the " bounds of justice, and law or reason, they them-" felves being the supreme power of the nation, " liable to no account to any, nor to be controul-" ed or regulated by any other power, there be-" ing none superior, or co-ordinate with them. " So that unless there be some authority and pow-" er so full and so high, as to restrain and keep " things in better order, and that may be a check " to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible in " human reason to prevent our ruin."

WHITELOCK answered: "I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally
apprehended; yet as to that part of it which
concerns the soldiery, your excellency's power
and commission is sufficient already to restrain
and keep them in their due obedience: And,
blessed be God, you have done it hitherto,
and I doubt not but by your wisdom you will
be able still to do it. As to the members of
parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies
there

" there, your commission being from them, and " they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet, I am fure, your excellency will not look upon them as generally deprav'd; too many of them are much to

blame in those things you have mentioned, and

many unfit things have pass'd among them; but "I hope well of the major part of them, when " great matters come to a decision." THE lord-general reply'd, "There is little hopes of a good fettlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of " fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: We all " forget God, and God will forget us, and give " us up to confusion, and these-men will help " it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways: Some course must be thought on to curb " and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by "them." Upon this Whitelock faid, "We our felves have acknowledged them the supreme copower, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments for them; and " how to restrain and curb them after this, it will

" be hard to find out a way for it." THE general then put this short question to Whitelock, What if a man should take upon him to be king? Whitelock faid, He thought that remedy would be worse than the disease: And the general asking him, Why he thought so, he proceeded, " As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general: " As to the nomination of civil officers, those " whom you think fittest are seldom refus'd; and altho' you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you diflike will not eafily 1652. " be carried; and the taxes are already fettled, U " and in your power to dispose the money raised. "And as to foreign affairs, tho' the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the " expectation of good or bad fuccess in it, is " from your excellency; and particular follicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed less envy and " danger, and pomp, but not less power and real " opportunities of doing good in your being ge-" neral, than would be if you had affumed the

" title of king.

THE lord-general proceeded to argue, That whoever was actually king by election, the acts done by him were as lawful and justifiable, as if done by a king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in king Henry the feventh's reign, it was safer for the people to act under a king, let bis title be what it will, than under any other power. Whitelock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being ask'd, What danger he apprehended in taking this title, he answer'd, " The danger I think " would be this: One of the main points of " controversy betwixt us and our adversaries, is, Whether the government of this nation shall be " established in monarchy, or in a free state or com-" mon-wealth? And most of our friends have " engaged with us, upon the hopes of having " the government settled in a free state, and to " effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being perfuaded (tho' I " think much mistaken) that under the government of a common-wealth, they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spi-" ritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy, the pressures and dislike " whereof

1652.

" whereof are so fresh in their memories and suf-" ferings. Now if your excellency shall take upon you the title of king, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy establish'd in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our govern-" ment shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but, whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king and monarch. And that question, where-" in before fo great parties of the nation were engag'd, and which was univerfal, will by this means become in effect a private controversy " only; before it was national, what kind of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governour, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the state " of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a common-wealth (and they are a very great and confiderable party) having " their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you, e your hands will be weakened, your interest " ftreightened, and your cause in apparent danger " to be ruined."

THE general here acknowledg'd that Whitelock spoke reason, and ask'd him, What other
thing he could propound, that might obviate the
present dangers and difficulties, wherein they were
all involv'd. Whitelock confess'd, it would be the
greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient,
but said, he had had some things in his private
thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were
not fit, or safe for him to communicate: But
upon the general's pressing him to disclose them,
and promising there should no prejudice come to
him by any private discourse betwixt them, and
assuring him, he should never betray his friend,
and that he should take kindly whatever he should
offer;

offer; Whitelock began thus: "Give me leave " then first to consider your excellency's condition. "You are invironed with secret enemies: Up-" on your subduing of the publick enemy, the " officers of your army account themselves all " victors, and to have had an equal share in the " conquest with you. The success which God " hath given us, hath not a little elated their " minds, and many of them are busy, and of " turbulent spirits, and are not without their de-" figns how they may difmount your excellency, " and some of themselves get up into the saddle; " how they may bring you down, and fet up " themselves. They want not counsel and encou-" ragement herein, it may be, from some mem-" bers of the parliament, who may be jealous of " your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time over-master " them; and they will plot to bring you down

" first, or to clip your wings."

THE general upon this thanked Whitelock for fo fully confidering his condition: It is, faid he, a testimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly consider'd it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause it self may possibly receive some disadvantage, by the strugglings and contentions among our selves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

WHITELOCK then proceeded: " Pardon " me, Sir, in the next place a little to confider " the condition of the king of Scots. This prince " being now by your valour, and the fuccess " which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduc'd to

1652.

" a very low condition, both he, and all about " him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken " to any terms, whereby their loft hopes may be " reviv'd of his being restor'd to the crown, and " they to their fortunes and native country. By " a private treaty with him you may fecure " your felf, and your friends, and their fortunes; " you may make your felf and your posteer rity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends: You may put such limits to monar-" chical power, as will secure our spiritual and c civil liberties, and you may fecure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the " militia continued in your felf, and whom you thall agree upon after you. I propound there-" fore for your excellency to fend to the king of " Scots, and to have a private treaty with him

" for this purpose."

THE general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reason for what he propounded; But, said he, it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate, than is at present allow'd us: We shall therefore take a farther time to discourse of it. And with that he brake off, and went away with some displeasure in his countenance. His carriage also towards Whitelock was from that time after'd, and his advising with him not fo frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an occasion, by an honourable employment, to fend him out of the way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the defigns he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifest, that he had it now in his thoughts to fet up himself, and bring the crown upon his own head: To which purpose Harry Nevill, who

who was then one of the council of state, us'd 1652. to tell it as a story of his own knowledge, "That Harry Nea Cromwell upon this great occasion fent for some vill's story " of the chief city divines, as if he made it a concern-" matter of conscience to be determin'd by their ing him. " advice. Among these was the leading Mr. " Calamy, who very boldly oppos'd the project " of Cromwell's fingle government, and offer'd " to prove it both unlawful and imprac-" ticable. Cromwell answer'd readily upon the " first head of unlawful, and appeal'd to the " fafety of the nation, being the supreme law: " But, fays he, pray Mr. Calamy, why impracti-" cable? Calamy reply'd, Oh, 'tis against the " voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten a-" gainst you. Very well, says Cromwell, but " what if I should disarm the nine, and put the " sword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?".

GENERAL Cromwell and his officers, in or He and der to bring about their defigns, were now dai- his offily complaining of the grievances from the long plain of parliament, and feem'd very zealous upon the the long common pretences of right and justice, and pub- parlialick liberty, to put a period to their fession; "Which if they would not shortly do them-" felves, the army and people must do it for " them." They particularly complain'd, "That " the parliament order'd all things at will, and " distributed all valuable employments among " themselves; that they were so many kings, " and for one fovereign, the nation had many, " who car'd less for the laws than he they had " destroy'd; that they embrued the kingdom in " blood, upon pretence of punishing the adver-" faries of the government, but in reality to gra-" tify their own private revenge; that they had "fludy'd to perpetuate themselves in an em-

" ployment which ought to be temporary, fo " that all the good subjects of the commonwealth might share in it; that the parliament ought to be diffolved, and a new representa-" tive chosen by the universal consent of the ec people, according to the scheme laid when monarchy was abolish'd to set up a common-" wealth." And that no obstacle might be in the way of the defign'd future government, means were found to fet the young duke of Gloncefter at liberty, and fend him out of the nation.

He writes dinal de Retz.

'Twas about this time that Cromwell fent a to the Car- letter to the Cardinal de Retz in France; which the faid Cardinal thus relates in his Memoires: "Tis remarkable that the same night, as I was " going home (viz. after he had been to carry " fome money he had borrow'd for king Charles, " who was now at Paris) I met one Tilney, an Eng-" lishman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that Vere, a great parliamenta-" rian and a favourite of Cromwell, was arriv'd at Paris, and had orders to fee me. I was a " little perplex'd; however, I thought it would " be improper to refuse him an interview. He gave me a letter from Cromwell in the nature " of credentials, importing, that the sentiments " I had discover'd in the defence of publick li-" berty, added to my reputation, and had induced him to enter into the strictest friendship " with me. It was a most civil complaisant leteter, and I answer'd it with a great deal of re-" fpect; but in such a manner as became a true catholick and an honest Frenchman."

Another fea-fight between the Englife and Dutch.

On the 18th of February, there happen'd another dreadful fight between the English fleet commanded by Blake, Dean, and Monk, and the Dutch under Van Trump. This fight lasted three days with wonderful bravery, and terrible flaughter

on both fides, though the English prevail'd; for 1652? the Dutch loft eleven men of war, and thirty merchant-ships; above two thousand of their men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners: But the English loft but out one ship, the Southampton, which was funk; though their flain were not many less than those of the enemy.

THIS great loss so fensibly affected the states The Dutch of Holland and West-Friezland, that they dif- defire patch'd letters to the English parliament, to en- peaces deavour after some means for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect. though it was particularly promoted by general Cromwell himself, who was very desirous to have a peace concluded. The states had offer'd to acknowledge the English fovereignty of the British seas, and to pay three hundred thousand pounds to the English common-wealth; but finding this was not likely to fucceed, they apply'd themselves (as we are told) more directly to general Cromwell, promising him vast sums, if he would venture to depose and dissolve the parliament.

HOWEVER this was, the general and his of- 16536 ficers still continu'd their complaints against the The geparliament; and petitions, addresses, and remon- neral and his offiftrances were daily presented from the army, cers con-" For the payment of their arrears, the putting time their " an end to this parliament, and fummoning a complaint " more equal representative; which they told against "them would be the most popular action they liament; " could perform." Some of the officers were indeed very much concern'd at these proceedings, and openly protested against them. Major Streater was fo bold as to declare, " That the " general intended to fet up himself, and that it was a betraying of their most glorious cause, " for which so much blood had been spilt." But Harrison, who was one of the leaders of that

party

1653. party now known by the name of Fifth-Monarchy men, told him, He was affur'd, the general did not feek himself in it, but did it to make way for the rule of lesus, that he might have the Scepter. To whom the major thus reply'd, That unless lefus came very suddenly, he would come too late.

The proceedings of the house on

THE parliament being very fenfible of these proceedings, a great debate arose thereupon in the house; where several of the members, out this occa- of justice, reason, or a foreseen necessity, appeared to be for a diffolution, and a new representative to be chosen; but in the end it was declar'd, that the diffolution of the parliament, was too high a matter for any private persons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther presumption of that nature, a committee was appointed to prepare an act of parliament with all possible expedition, " For filling up of their house, and for settling their qualifications; and to declare it high-treason for any " man to propose or contrive the changing of the " prefent government."

General Cromwell holds a confultation thereupon.

GENERAL Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had so long enjoy'd, on the 19th of April, held a confultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in Whitehall, to confider of some expedient for the present carrying on of the government of the common-wealth, and putting a period to the parliament. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and commissioner Whitelock, declar'd what a dangerous thing it was to diffolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: But the general and most of his officers with several members of the house, deliver'd their opinion, That it was necessary to take some new measures,

and that it was not fit the present assembly of par- 1653. liament should be permitted to prolong their own power. The conference lasted till late at night. when without coming to any conclusion, the meeting was adjourn'd to the next morning. Most of them being then again met, the point in debate was, "Whether forty persons, or about " that number, of parliament men and officers " of the army, should be nominated by the par-" liament, and impower'd for managing the af-" fairs of the common-wealth, till a new parlia-" ment should meet, and so the present parlia-" ment be forthwith dissolv'd." The lord-general being inform'd during this debate, that the parliament was fitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable diffolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him, left him at his lodgings and went to the house; where, contrary to their expectation, instead of coming to any refolutions of immediately diffolving themselves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the present parliament was to be continu'd above a year and a half longer, and then to be diffolved.

COLONEL Ingoldsby came back to the gene- He by ral, and informed him what the house was upon: force dis-At which the general, who expected they should folves the have meddled with no other business, but putting parliament and an immediate period to their own fitting without the Comany more delay, was so enrag'd, that he imme- mondiately commanded some of the officers to fetch wealth. a party of foldiers (to the number of three hundred) with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed some of them at the door, fome in the Lobby, and others on the flairs. Himself going into the house, first adress'd him-

1653

felf to his friend St. John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very foul, and what he had earnestly with tears pray'd to God against: Nay, That he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation. Then he fat down and heard their debates for some time on the forementioned act; after which, calling to major-general Harrison, who was on the other fide of the house, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the parliament ripe for a diffolution, and this to be the time of doing it. Harrison answer'd, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I defire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it. You fay well, reply'd the general; and thereupon fat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to Harrison, This is the time, I must do it. And so standing up on a sudden, he bad the speaker leave the chair, and told the house, That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters (looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and therefore be must desire them to go away. He charg'd them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and espousing the interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression; and accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. When some of the members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the house, and said, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating: Then walking

walking up and down the house, he cry'd out, 1657. You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament; and stamping with his feet, he bad them for shame be gone, and give place to honester men. Upon this fignal the foldiers enter'd the house, and he bad one of them, Take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harrison taking the speaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as Ludlow informs us) the general addressing himself again to the members, who were about a hundred, faid, 'Tis you that have forced me to this, for I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather flay me, than put me upon the doing of this work. And then seizing on all their papers, he order'd the foldiers to fee the house clear'd of all members; and having caus'd the doors to be lock'd up, went away to Whitehall. "Thus, as Whitelock " observes, it pleased God, that this affembly, fa-" mous throughout the world for its undertak-" ings, actions and fuccesses, having subdu'd all " their enemies, were themselves overthrown and " ruin'd by their fervants; and those whom they " had raifed, now pull'd down their mafters: An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be " parallel'd in any story! By which all persons may " be instructed, how uncertain and subject to " change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall " when we think them highest."

The general being return'd to Whitehall, found the officers who were there affembled, in debate concerning this weighty affair, and told them, He had done it, and they needed not to trouble themfelves any farther about it. Some of those officers, who dislik'd what the general had done, particularly colonel Okey, repair'd to him to defire satisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the way they were now in, tended to ruin and destruction. To these he made large pretensions to honesty

and

1653. and concern for the publick weal, professing himfelf relolved to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament. This put most of them to silence, and made them willing to wait for a farther difcovery of his defign, before they proceeded fo far as to break with him.

HAVING thus dissolv'd the parliament, general Cromwell went the same day in the afternoon to the council of state, attended by the majorgenerals Lambert and Harrison; and as he enter'd. spoke thus to them, Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you: And fince you cannot but know what was done at the bouse in the morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolv'd. Serieant Bradshaw boldly anfwer'd; Sir, we have heard what you did at the bouse in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: But, Sir, you are mistaken, to think that the parliament is disfolv'd; for no power under beaven can dissolve them but themselves: Therefore take you notice of that. Some others also spoke to the same purpose: But the council finding themselves to be under the same force, they all quietly departed.

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THE

OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART III.

Containing his actions in the Protectorate: From the dissolution of the long parliament, to bis death.

CHAP. I.

From the dissolution of the long parliament, to the meeting of Cromwell's first parliament.



HE formidable body at Westminster The gebeing thus forcibly diffolved, the neral conlord-general and his party were very fults how to carry bufy in confulting how to manage the on the

government, which by this means was govern-fallen into their hands. This fingle action made ment. Cromwell master of three kingdoms; for the' he R 4

1653. did not take upon himself the title of Protestor till feveral months after, yet his power was in effeet the same, from the very moment that he fucceeded in this bold undertaking: Soon after which, he fent for major Salloway and Mr. John Carew, and complained to them of the great weight of affairs that by this means was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the confequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore defired them to free bim from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief justice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government, that might put the power out of his hands. To this major Salloway answered, The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest persuaded, that the power of this nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was. This answer was thought to be not very agreeable to the general, who now appointed a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this exigency; and with their advice, he, in the first place, published a declaration of the grounds and reasons for their diffolving the late parliament; which was to the following effect:

He and his council of officers publish a declaration.

"THAT after God was pleas'd marvelloufly " to appear for his people, in reducing of Ire-

" land and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet; whereby the par-

"liament had opportunity to give the people the " harvest of all their labour, blood and treasure,

and to fettle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things; whereunto they were ob-

" lig'd by their duty, engagements, and those

great and wonderful things God hath wrought

ee for

" for them; they notwithstanding made so little 1653. " progress therein, that it was matter of much " grief to the good people of the land; who " thereupon apply'd themselves to the army, ex-" pecting redress by their means; who (tho' un-" willing to meddle with the civil authority) a-" greed that fuch officers, as were members of " parliament, should move them to proceed vi-" goroufly in reforming what was amis in the " common-wealth, and in fettling it upon a foun-" dation of justice and righteousness; which be-" ing done, it was hop'd the parliament would " have answer'd their expectations. But finding " the contrary, they renew'd their defires by an " humble petition in August, 1652. Which pro-" duc'd no confiderable effect, nor was any fuch " progress made therein, as might imply their " real intentions to accomplish what was petiti-" on'd for, but rather an averfeness to the things " themselves, with much bitterness and oppositi-" on to the people of God, and his Spirit afting " in them; infomuch that the godly party in " parliament were render'd of no farther use " than to countenance the ends of a corrupt par-" ty, for effecting their designs of perpetuating " themselves in the supreme government. For " obviating these evils, the officers of the army cobtain'd several meetings with some of the " parliament, to confider what remedy might be " apply'd to prevent the same: But such endea-" vours proving ineffectual, it became evident, " that this parliament, through the corruption " of some, the jealousy of others, and the nonattendance of many, would never answer those " ends, which God, his people, and the whole " nation expected from them; but that this cause, which God had fo greatly blefs'd, must needs co languish under their hands, and by degrees be

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" loft; and the lives, liberties, and comforts of " his people be deliver'd into their enemies hands. ce All which being fadly and feriously consider'd by the honest people of the nation, as well as " by the army, it feemed a duty incumbent up-" on us, who had feen fo much of the power and or presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish righteousness and " peace in these nations. And after much debate, " it was judged necessary, that the supreme government should be by the parliament devolv'd " upon known persons fearing God, and of approv'd integrity, for a time, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby the people might forget monarchy, and understand their true interest in the election of successive parliaments; that so the government might be fettled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the de-" fence of the same. And being still resolv'd to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty members of parliament to give us a conference; with whom we plainly debated the necessity and justice of our proposals; the which found no acceptance, but instead thereof, it was offer'd, "That the way was, to continue still this parliament, as being that from which we might " probably expect all good things. This being " vehemently infifted on did much confirm us in cour apprehensions, that not any love to a reor presentative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their " aim in the act they had then under confidera-" tion. For preventing the confummating where-

of, and all the fad and evil confequences, which

" upon the grounds aforefaid must have ensued, 1653. " and whereby at one blow the interest of all hoa nest men, and of this glorious cause, had been " endangered to be laid in the dust, and these " nations embroil'd in new troubles, at a time " when our enemies abroad were watching all ad-" vantages against, and some of them actually " engag'd in war with us; we have been neces-" fitated (tho' with much reluctancy) to put an " end to this parliament." Then they promis'd, " to put the government into the hands of per-" fons of approv'd fidelity and bonefly; and at last " declar'd, That all magistrates and officers what-" foever shall proceed in their respective places " and offices, and obedience shall be paid to " them as fully, as when the parliament was fit-" ting."

THIS declaration was subscrib'd by the lordgeneral, and his council of officers, Whitehall, April 22d, 1653. Which council of officers and some others, were foon after form'd into a council of flate, which was compos'd of the thirty persons following; Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Lifle, Harrison, Desborough, Pickering, Wollesty, Ashley Cooper, Hope, Hewson, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Stapeley, Sydenbam, Tomlinson, Jones, Tichburn, Strickland, Carew, Howard, Broughton, Laverence, Holister, Courtney, Major, St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.

THE diffolution of the parliament was very The engrateful and acceptable to a great many people; tertainand this declaration, being fent out into all the ment it dominions of the common-wealth, was answer'd by many congratulations and addresses from the fleet, and army, and people, promifing to stand by the general and his council of officers, and acknowledging the justice of the late action. (And this, by the way, gave rife to the practice of addreffing.

1653. addreffing, which beginning first under Oliver and his fon Richard, has been so common in all the reigns fince.) The faid declaration was on the 30th day of April seconded by this ensuing, which met with equal submission and obedience.

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Another declarati-

" WHEREAS the parliament being diffolv'd, persons of approv'd fidelity and honesty are (according to the late declaration of the 22d of April last) to be called from the feveral parts " of this common-wealth to the supreme autho-" rity; and although effectual proceedings are, " and have been had, for perfecting those reso-" lutions; yet some convenient time being required for the affembling of those persons, it hath " been found necessary, for preventing the mis-" chiefs and inconveniencies which may arise in " the mean while to the publick affairs, that a council of state be constituted, to take care of, " and intend the peace, fafety, and present ma-" nagement of the affairs of this common-wealth; " which being settled accordingly, the same is " hereby declar'd and published, to the end all " persons may take notice thereof, and in their " leveral places and flations, demean themselves " peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the " nation as heretofore; in the exercise and administration whereof, as endeavours shall be used " that no oppression or wrong be done to the er people, so a strict account will be required of all fuch as shall do any thing to endanger the " publick peace and quiet, upon any pretence " whatsoever." Subscrib'd O. Cromwell.

THE lord-general Cromwell having now in effest the supreme power in his hands, the first remarkable passage, that befel him, was at sea. The Dutch had form'd mighty expectations from the late revolutions in England, believing, the English would by this means be brought to fall together

gether by the ears, and so their work would 1653. be very easy with them. With these hopes, notwithstanding their late pretences to peace, they with all imaginable diligence, fet out a greater fleet to sea, than they had done before; and Van Trump boafted he would fire the English ships in their harbours, and the Downs, before the English fleet could get out. But the new government, well knowing what credit was to be given to the Dutch protestations, of their sincere love and affection to the English nation, &c. were not behind-hand with them, but did every thing that might advance the maritime preparations; fo that in May they fent out another gallant fleet confifting of a hundred ships of all forts, under the command of Monk and Dean as admirals, Pen as vice-admiral, and Lawfon as rear-admiral. On Victory the second of June, early in the morning, they over the engag'd the Dutch fleet under Van Trump, De fea. Ruyter, De Wit, and the two Evertsons, consisting of a hundred and four men of war, twelve galliots, and nine fireships. This fight happen'd not far from the coasts of Flanders, the beginning of which was so fatal, that at the first broad-side of the enemy, admiral Dean was shot off almost in the middle by a cannon-ball. The fight continued till three in the afternoon, when the wind coming up contrary to the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursu'd by the lightest of the English frigats. The next morning, the two fleets found themselves again near each other, but the wind was so slack, that Monk could not come to engage the enemy till about noon; and then the battle began again, and continu'd very hot on both fides, till ten at night. The English fleet charg'd the Dutch with so much bravery and refolution, that they put them into very great dif-order; so that the Van Trump fired on them to rally

1653.

rally them, he could not procure above twenty ships of his whole fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the fail they could away to the eaftward: And the wind blowing a fresh gale from the westward, the English pursu'd them with such fuccess, that they funk fix of their best ships, blew up two others, and took eleven, with thirteen hundred and fifty prisoners, among whom were fix of their principal captains. Towards the end of this battle, admiral Blake came in with eighteen fresh ships; and had not the Dutch shelter'd themselves between Dunkirk and Calais, where 'twas not fafe for the English to expose their great ships, by reason of the sands, most of their fleet had in all probability been taken or destroy'd. The loss of the English was greatest in their admiral Dean: Befides him, there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty common sea-men kill'd: More were wounded, but they lost not one ship. Having put their prisohers on shoar, and left some of their ships to be relitted, they returned to the coast of Holland, where for some time they block'd up the Dutch in their own harbours, and ply'd to and again betwixt the Texel and the Uly, to hinder ships coming out from thence to join with that part of the Dutch fleet which was got into the Wielings, and to stop up their trade and fishing.

General Cromwell prepares for a new parliament,

AT home, general Gromwell and his council of officers were in the mean time very bufy in preparing for a new kind of parliament. Majorgeneral Lambert mov'd, that a few persons, not exceeding ten or twelve, might be intrusted with the supreme authority: Major-general Harrison was for a greater number, and inclin'd most to that of 70, as being the number of the Jewish Sanbedrim. But after some debate, it was resolv'd by the general and his council to summon select

persons

persons, to be nominated by themselves, out of 1653. every county; who should be a representative of the whole nation: And the feveral persons having been agreed upon, letters from the general were thus directed to each of them.

"FORASMUCH as upon the diffolution of His form the late parliament, it became necessary that of sum-" the peace, fafety, and good government of this mons to common-wealth should be provided for; and sons no-" in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God, minated " and of approv'd fidelity and honesty, are by for that " myfelf, with the advice of my council of offi- purpose. " cers, nominated, to whom the great charge and " trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed; " and having good affurance of your love to, and " courage for God, and the interest of this cause, " and of the good people of this common-wealth: " I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and com-" mander in chief of all the armies and forces raifed and to be raifed within this common-wealth, " do hereby fummon and require you, being one of " the persons nominated, personally to appear at the " council-chamber at Wbiteball within the city of " Westminster, upon the fourth day of July, next " ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take " upon you the faid trust, unto which you " are hereby call'd, and appointed to serve as a " member of the county of - And hereof " you are not to fail. Given under my hand this

BEFORE the meeting of this convention, fe- Several veral other acts of authority were perform'd by acts of the general. On the 14th of June, he and the ral and council of state put forth a declaration, "To council " invite all the good people in these nations to of state. " thankfulness, and holy rejoycing in the Lord,

" eighth day of June, 1653. O. Gromwell."

" for the late great victory at sea against the " Dutch." And he appointed a day for the

1653. meeting of himself and his council of officers for that purpole. Many people were the more pleas'd with this, because it was not a command impofed on them, but only an invitation to keep a day of publick thanksgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no interruption to the administration of justice, the general with the council of state nominated the judges for the summer circuit. And a few days after, they pass'd an order, forbidding all riotous affemblies in the great level of the fens, and the throwing down of fences and inclosures there.

CHAP. II.

From the meeting of his FIRST PAR-LIAMENT, to his being declar'd PRO-TECTOR by the instrument of government.

first parliament.

Cromwell's HE feveral persons summon'd by general Cromwell to take upon them the supreme authority, appear'd on the appointed day, July 4. about eleven weeks after the diffolution of the late parliament, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, to the number of about a hundred and twenty. Being fet round the table, the general, attended by many of his officers, standing about the middle of the table, made a speech to them, " Of the fear of God, and the ho-" nour due to his name; remembering them of " the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, " and the continu'd feries of providence, by " which he had appear'd in carrying on his " cause, and bringing affairs into that present e glorious condition, wherein they now were.

Then he reminded them of the noble actions

His speech to them.

of the army in the famous battle of Worcester, 1653. " and of the applications they had made to the U parliament for a good settlement of all the af-" fairs of the common-wealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it. " Hence he shew'd them the cause of their sum-" mons, and affur'd them by many arguments, " fome of which were taken from scripture, " That they had a clear call to take upon them " the supreme authority of the common-wealth. He " faid, that he never look'd to fee fuch a day, " when Jesus Christ should be so owned, as this " day was; and that he had not allow'd himself " in the choice of one person, in whom he had " not this good hope, That there was faith in " Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and " people." And concluded with a very earnest desire, "That great tenderness might be used " towards all conscientious persons, of what judg-" ment foever they appear'd to be."

His speech being ended, he deliver'd to them He by an an instrument engross'd in parchment under his instruhand and feal, whereby, with the advice of his ment concouncil of officers, he did devolve and intrust them the the supreme authority and government of this supreme common-wealth into the hands of the persons authority. then met; and declar'd, "That they, or any " forty of them, were to be held and acknow-

" ledg'd the supreme authority of the nation, " unto whom all persons within the same were to " yield obedience and subjection; that they should " not fit longer than the third of November;

". 1654, and three months before their diffoluti-" on, should make choice of other persons to

" fucceed them; who were not to fit longer than " a year, and to provide for a like succession in

" the government."

1652. Their proceedings.

THEN the general and his officers withdrew, and the persons thus commission'd adjourn'd themfelves to the next day, to meet in the parliament house; where they kept a fast, and publish'd a declaration, To fir up the godly of the nation to seek God for a blessing upon their proceedings. They chose Mr. Roule, an old gentleman of Devonshire, and provost of Eton college, who had been a member of the long parliament, to be their speaker; resolv'd, that general Cromwell and his chief officers, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Thomlinson, should fit in the house as members; and at once voted themselves to be the parliament of the common-wealth of England, and that all addresses should be made to them under that title. Then they appointed feveral committees, 1. To consider matters touching the law. 2. Touching prisoners and prisons. 3. For inspection into treasuries, and easing publick charges. 4. For Ireland. 5. For Scotland. 6. For the Army: 7. For petitions. 8. To consider what shall be offer'd about publick debts, publick fraud, and breaches of trust. 9. For regulating commissions of the peace, and for making provision for the poor. 10. For advance of trade. 11. For advancement of learning. And they referr'd it to a committee to consider of the laws that hinder'd the progress of the gospel, that they might be repeal'd. The chief laws made by this affembly were these: One for punishing seditious sea-men: Another for marrying by justices of the peace and registring marriages, births, and burials: A third concerning the plantation of Ireland, fettling the lands there upon the adventurers and foldiers: A fourth for payment of some publick debts.

Acts pass'd by them.

Their

WHITELOCK fays, It was much wonder'd haracter. by fome, that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and knowledge, would

upon

tipon fuch a fummons, and from fuch hands, take 16531 upon them the supreme authority of this nation. The lord Clarendon informs us, that there were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could confift with the guilt they had contracted: But he fays, that much the major part of them confifted of inferior persons, of no quality or name. Ludlow gives them this character: " Many of the members of this affembly had manifested a good affection to the publick cause; (be " means a common-wealth:) But some among " them were brought in as spies and trepanners; " who, though they had always been of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation. This affembly therefore being compos'd for the most " part of honest and well-meaning persons, who " having good intentions, were less apt to sufpect the evil defigns of others, thought themle felves in full possession of the power and au-" thority of the nation, &c." And others speak thus of them: "This very parliament, which had indeed procur'd very beneficial orders in matters of leffer moment, in the greater concernments had not so good fortune. There was so much confusion in their counsels, such a contrariety in their opinions, such a disso-" nancy in their actings, and disparity in their " aims and projections, as that this senate was more like a monster with many heads, than a well-ordered grand affembly or supreme coun-" cil." One Praise-God Barebones, a Leatherfeller in Fleet-street, was a very busy man in this affembly; whence it had the name of Barebones's parliament. It was also called by some the Little parliament; and from an order that none should S 2

1653. should be admitted into the service of the house, but such of whose real godliness they were first satisfy'd, it was call'd the godly parliament.

Fobn Lilburn tried and acquitted.

UNDER this change of government, lieutenantcolonel John Lilburn, whose turbulent spirit in the time of the late parliament had procur'd his banishment, now finding their power at an end, came over into England, and very confidently addressed himself to general Cromwell for protection. But the general well knowing of what spirit John was, committed him to Newgate, and left him to the law: Whereby he underwent a strict trial, in which he discover'd his parts and subtlety by the variety of his pleas, and his invincible temper by the boldness of his replies; and by the favour of the jury was at last acquitted. Oliver feem'd to be much offended with him, and very defirous to have him punish'd; yet privately paid him a pension equivalent to a lieutenantcolonel's pay. This person was of so undaunted and ungovernable a temper, as can scarce be parallel'd in any nation. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the time of the late king, and fuffer'd three years imprisonment, till the times turn'd; when coming into play again, he became a grand leveller, and violent opposer of all that was uppermost. He obtain'd the name of Free-born John, and had fuch an inveterate spirit of contradiction, that 'twas commonly faid of him, That if the world was emptied of all but himself, John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John. Cromwell kept him in prison for sometime; and he at last dy'd a quaker.

The Dutch again fue for Peace.

THE Dutch were so humbled by the late defeat, that they immediately took up a resolution for peace, and fent over to England a veffel with a white flag, and a meffenger to prepare the

way for two ambassadors to come over for that purpose. General Cromwell was not averse to a treaty, but would allow of no ceffation till it was concluded. This being known in Holland, they could not bear to think of fuffering fo long the disadvantage of being besieg'd, and shut up in their ports; but with all possible expedition prepar'd another fleet, that might be sufficient to remove the English from thence; so that in less than two months after their defeat, they had a fleet of an hundred and twenty-five fail. From these wonderful preparations, they had fo great confidence of fuccess, that they fent admiral Van Trump out of the Wielings with ninety five fail, before the rest were ready, which De Wit soon after brought up to him from the Texel.

On the 29th of July, the English scouts dif- They are cover'd Van Trump's fleet; of which they gave again denotice, that the whole fleet, which then lay about feated three leagues off to fea, might make up to en- English in gage them: But the wind being against them, kept a terrible them from any action, till about fix in the even- Sea-fight. ing; when about thirty nimble frigates (the rest being still a-stern) began the encounter, which continu'd till they were parted by the night. The Dutch bore away towards the Texel, and being reinforc'd by the ships under De Wit, which were the prime of their navy, whereon they chiefly rely'd, Van Trump immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting posture, defigning to engage the next day; when the wind being very high, the English fleet, for fear of falling upon the flats, stood out to fea. This made many of the Dutch suppose that the English were flying; infomuch that one of the captains said to Van Trump, Sir, these dogs durst not stand one broadside from your excellency; you may see them plainly running home; and therefore, my lord, miss not the

oppor=

1653.

opportunity. But Van Trump, who had had fufficient experience of the English, and knew the meaning of their standing off, gave him this short answer, Do you look to your charge; for if the English were but twenty fail, I am sure they would fight us. The next morning proving fair, both fleets prepar'd for the battle; and about five a clock, the Dutch having the weathergage, began the fight somewhat at a distance; but it was not long before both fleets were desperately engag'd. The sea was never adorn'd with a more gallant fight in the beginning of the day, nor cover'd with a more dismal one in the latter end; and no fight was ever carry'd on with more bloody obstinacy and rage, than this was for several hours together. In the midst of this terrible encounter. admiral Van Trump, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he stood upon his quarter-deck with his fword drawn, bravely encouraging his men, being shot into the heart with a musquet-ball, dropt down dead without speaking a word. This struck fuch a terror into the enemy, and put them in fuch confusion, that they fled and made all the fail they could towards the Texel. About thirty of their men of war were fired or funk, and a great many prisoners taken. The victory was great, but cost the English dear; for eight of their brave captains, with about four hundred men were flain, and about feven hundred wounded; tho' they loft but one ship. This victory was so acceptable to general Cromwell's parliament, that they appointed a day of thanksgiving for it, and ordered a narrative of it to be publickly read; and gave several gold chains to Blake, Monk, Penn and Lawfon, for their good fervice, and a gratuity to the rest of the officers and seamen, according to their quality: And 'tis faid, that the lord-general himself put the chain, and the medal,

medal, with the representation of a sea-fight, about Monk's neck; and having invited him to

dinner, made him wear it all the while.

In Holland, after this last defeat, and the loss They apof their brave admiral, all things were in great ply themconfusion and distraction: The common people the coun-no longer obey'd their government; the placarts cil of state of the states-general were contemn'd, and they in and to the danger to be ruin'd and plunder'd by the ignorant parliaand furious rabble. They therefore with all fub. ment for mission apply'd themselves by their ambassadors peace, but in vain. to the English council of state; but from them they could obtain no other terms of peace, than a coalition, fatisfaction for damages, and fecurity against the like for the future, and that the Dutch should take a lease for twenty one years for fishing, and pay an annual rent. The council of state being thus resolute, the plenipotentaries refolv'd to try what terms of peace might be had from the parliament: But here they were more confounded and perplex'd than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impossible to prevail upon these men, who took the Dutch for the out-works of Babylon, and look'd upon them as carnal and worldly politicians, and enemies to the kingdom of Christ, which they thought was now approaching. In this difficult conjuncture, the states met to consult what was fit to be done, Twas the opinion of Holland, never to enter into a coalition with England, but that a ffrict league defensive should be propos'd; that they ought to contract foreign amities, particularly with France, and to equip out a fleet with all expedition. The rest of the provinces were for making a league with the elector of Brandenburgh, and other German princes, and for affifting the Scots, many of whom were now rifing under major-general Middleton. But these treaties were

1653. remote and dangerous, whilst their necessities were present; for which reason they gave orders to their plenipotentaries, "To protract time ac-" cording as they faw diforders to encrease between Cromwell and his supreme authority; to be ample in the generals concerning the defence of the reformed religion, and of the houshold of faith; to reject the coalition, to offer to enter into a ftrict and intimate league; but deal c as tenderly as they could in point of repara-

" tion, satisfaction, or security."

THIS being all known to the council of flate, it was communicated to the parliament; who thereupon faid, " That it was no more than was " prophefy'd in scripture, and in course to be ex-pested, That the gentiles should rage, and the kings of the earth set themselves against the king-" dom of Christ; but they should fall before him, and be broken in pieces." And they refolv'd now to humble them, by imposing very hard and mortifying articles upon them; fo that they feemed to be in no better state, than before the long parliament was diffolv'd. In this extremity, the Dutch plenipotentaries made their applications to the lord-general Cromwell, affuring him, "That " in case he would depose the present powers, " and affirme the government to himself, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more " moderate terms, and enter into fuch a defen-" five alliance, as would fecure him against all " his foreign and domestick enemies." The general found, that the proceedings of this parliament, tho' all of his own chusing, were so uncommon and unaccountable in many particulars, that none could judge of their defigns, or where they would end. And so upon both these accounts he refolv'd to put a period to their power; and the means of doing it were concerted with Rouse the speaker,

They . treat pritarely with geaeral Cromwell. fpeaker, and some of the general's select friends 1652. in the house, who were to bring it to bear with

as little disturbance as might be.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 12th of December in the morning, the members, who were in the fecret, being met a little earlier than usual, it was mov'd in the house, That the fitting of this parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the common-wealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign up their powers into the hands of the lord-general. This being seconded and urged by Sydenbam, Wolfley, and others, the members on the contrary fide, who were there, were much flartled and spoke vehemently against it: Upon which, those who were for a resignation, being apprehensive, that by delaying time more might come to the house and out-vote them, presently mov'd, That all who were for a diffolution, should rise and walk out. Accordingly, the speaker and The paras many members as would follow him, went liament with the mace to Whitehall, and by a writing refign under their hands, refign'd up their powers to their the general. Above twenty of the members, him. whereof major-general Harrison was one, continuing still in the house, plac'd Mr. Moyer in the chair, and fell to protesting against what the rest had done; but a party of foldiers was sent to turn them out, and so a period was put to this affembly, after a fession of five months and eight days.

By this refignation, the politick Cromwell, He conwith his council of officers, was once more pof fults with fess'd of the supreme power of the kingdom; his counwhereupon he thought fit to advise with them, ficers. and with other persons of interest in the nation, How this great burden of governing England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the armies therein. and the navy at fea, should be born, and by whom.

the lord-general should be chosen lord protector of the three nations.

He is declar'd Protector by the instrument of government.

UPON this, a large instrument was drawn up, entitled, The government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; commonly called, The instrument of government. It consisted of forty-two articles, and was in substance as follows:

" That the supreme legislative authority be, " and refide in a fingle person, and the people " in parliament; the stile of which person to be Lord Protector of the common-wealth of " England, Scotland, and Ireland. The execu-" tive power to be in the Protector, with the ad-" vice of his council; the number whereof not " to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen. All proceedings to run in the name and " stile of the Lord Protector; and all honours, " offices and titles to be deriv'd from him; and that he may pardon all offences but treafon and murder. The militia, in time of parce liament, to be in his and their hands; but in the intervals only in his and his council's. " He and his council to make war and peace with foreign princes. Not to make new laws, " or abrogate old ones, without confent of parliament, A parliament to be summon'd to ee meet at Wesiminster upon the third day of « September, 1654, and afterwards every third vear, and, if need be, oftner, which the Proet tettor shall not dissolve without consent in par-" liament, till after five months. The parliament to confift of four hundred English to be " chosen according to the proportions and num-" bers hereafter express'd, that is to say, For "the county of Bedford, fix; viz. for the town

" of Bedford, one; for the county of Bedford, " five. For the county of Berks, feven; viz. " for the borough of Abingdon, one; for the " borough of Reading, one; for the county of " Berks, five, &c. (The members for Cornwall " were in this inftrument reduc'd to twelve; "those for Essex were enlarg'd to fixteen; and " the city of London was to chuse six.) The " members for Scotland were to be thirty, and the same number for Ireland. The summon-" ing the parliament to pass under the seal of the common-wealth to the sherists; and if the " Protestor omit or deny that, then the commis-" fioner of the feal to be held under pain of " treason to iffue out such writs; and in case " of failure in him, the high-sheriffs. Such as are elected, to be return'd into the Chancery by the chief magistrates (sheriffs, mayors, or " bailiffs) within twenty days after the election, " If either the sheriff, mayor or bailiff make a " false return, or any ways procure an undue " election, let him be fin'd two thousand pounds, "Those who have born arms against the parlia-" ment to be uncapable of being elected, or gi-" ving their vote for any members to serve in " the next parliament, or in the three succeed-" ing triennial parliaments; and Irish rebels and er Papists to be for ever uncapable. None to be " elected under the age of twenty-one years, " nor unless he be a man of good conversation. "None to have votes in elections, but fuch as " are worth 200 1. Sixty to make a Quorum. " Bills presented to the Protestor, if not affented " to by him within twenty days, to pass into " laws notwithstanding; provided they contain " nothing contrary to this instrument. A com-" petent revenue to be fettled for the maintenance of ten thousand horse and dragoons, and twenty

" twenty thousand foot in England, Scotland, and " Ireland, and for a convenient number of ships " to guard the feas; and upon abating any of " the forces by land or fea, the moneys to be " brought to the Exchequer to serve sudden oc-" casions. The raising of money for defraying the charge of the present extraordinary forces both at land and fea, to be by confent in par-" liament, and not otherwise; save only that the " Protector, with the advice of his council, shall " have power, until the meeting of the first par-" liament, to raise money for the purposes a-" foresaid, and also to make laws and ordinan-" ces for the peace and welfare of these nations; " which shall be in force, till the partiament " fhall take order concerning the fame. All for-" feited lands unfold to belong to the Protestor. The Protectorate to be elective, but the royal " family to be excluded; and no Protector after " the present to be general of the army. Oliver " Cromwell to be the present Protector. All the great offices of the common-wealth, fuch as chancellor, keeper of the feal, treasurer, admiral, governours of Ireland and Scotland, " &c. if they become void in time of parliament, to be supply'd with their approbation, and in intervals of parliament with the appro-" bation of the council. The Christian religicon, as contain'd in the holy scriptures, to be the publick profession of these nations; and " those that administer it, to be maintain'd by " the publick, but by some way more convenient and less liable to envy than tithes. None to be compell'd to consent to the publick proec fession by fine or any punishment whatever, but only by perfuafion and arguments. None " that profess faith in Christ, however otherwise they differ, to be restrained from, but to

"be protected in the exercise of their religion, 1653." so they do not quarrel with and disturb others; this liberty not to extend to Popery or Prelacy. All sales of parliament to stand good. Articles of peace to be kept. The Protectors successively, upon entering on their charge, to swear to procure by all means the peace, quiet and welfare of the common-wealth, to observe these articles, and to administer all things (to their power) according to the laws, statutes and customs."

ALL things being prepared, on the 16th of He is in-December, about three in the afternoon, his ex-stall'd. cellency, the lord-general, went from Whitehall to the Chancery court, in the following manner: the commissioners of the great seal march'd first; then the judges and barons in their robes; next to them the council of the common-wealth; then the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of London: after them, came the lord-general, attended with the chief officers of the army. In this procession they ascended the Chancery court, where was fet a rich chair of state, with a large cushion, and carpets on the floor. The general flood on the left hand of it uncover'd, till the foremention'd instrument was read; which his excellency fubscrib'd in the face of the court, and took an oath in these words:

"Whereas the major part of the last par-His oath."
liament (judging that their sitting any longer,
as then constituted, would not be for the good
of the common-wealth) did dissolve the same,
and by a writing under their hands, dated the
12th day of this instant December, resigned
unto me their powers and authorities: and
whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some
speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and
foun-

foundation, as by the bleffing of God, might be lafting, fecure property, and answer those " great ends of religion and liberty, fo long contended for: and upon full and mature con-" fideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being fatisfy'd that the fame, thro' divine affiftance, may answer the ends " aforementioned; and having also been defired and advised, as well by several persons of inet terest and fidelity in the common-wealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations, in the manner expressed in the said form of government; I have accepted thereof, and do " hereby declare my acceptance accordingly: and do promise in the presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein; but to my power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes and customs, " feeking their peace, and caufing justice and law " to be equally administer'd."

This done, he sat down in the chair cover'd; and the commissioners deliver'd up the great seal to him, and the lord mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which the Protestor immediately return'd to them again. The ceremony being over, the soldiers with a shout cry'd out, God bless the lord Protestor of the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. And so they went back to Whitehall, the lord mayor uncover'd carrying the sword before his Highness. When they came into the Banqueting-house, Mr. Lockier made an exhortation to them; and so the lord mayor, aldermen and judges departed.

PRESENTLY after, the following proclamation, let forth by the council, was publish'd in the Palace-yard, at the Old Exchange, and several o- He is prother places in London; and as foon as could be, claim'd. throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. "Whereas the late parliament, diffolving them-" felves, and refigning their powers and authori-" ties, the government of the common-wealth " of England, Scotland and Ireland, by a Lord " Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments, is now establish'd: and whereas Oliver Gromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this " common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector of " the faid nations, and hath accepted thereof: "We have therefore thought it necessary (as we " hereby do) to make publication of the premi-" fes, and strictly to charge and command all, " and every person and persons, of what quality " and condition foever, in any of the faid three " nations, to take notice thereof, and to conform " and fubmit themselves to the government so " establish'd. And all sheriss, mayors, bailiss, " and other publick ministers and officers, whom " this may concern, are required to cause this or proclamation to be forthwith publish'd in their " respective counties, cities, corporations, and " market-towns; to the end none may have cause " to pretend ignorance in this behalf." now care was taken to alter all writs and process, from the stile of the keepers of the liberties of England, to that of Protector. Upon this new advancement, we are told, that Cromwell observ'd new and great state, and all ceremonies and respects were paid to him by all sorts of men, as to their prince.

Thus, as has been observed by many, did this extraordinary man, with so little pains, mount himself into the throne of three kingdoms, with-

out the title of King, but with more power and authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceding king: he made the greatest figure in Europe in his time, and receiv'd greater marks of respect and esteem from all the kings and princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewn to any monarch of these nations; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

CHAP. III.

From his being declar'd PROTECTOR, to the meeting of his second parliament.

His condition and proceedings at his first entering upon the go-

ROMWELL being thus rais'd to the power of a monarch, proceeded in the exercise of his government, with the greatest vigour and industry. He and his council set forth feveral ordinances; among the rest, one declaring what offences should be adjudg'd treavernment. fon; another for repealing those acts and refolves of parliament, which had formerly been made for subscribing to the Engagement against a fingle person and house of peers : another for appointing persons to be approvers of ministers. At his first assuming the government, there were three great parties in the nation all against him, the Episcopal party, the Presbyterians and the Republicans: and it requir'd the greatest dexterity and skill to manage these very opposite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conspiracies they were so ready to run into. He had only the army to rely upon; and that enthusiastick spirit he had taken so much pains

to raise among them, render'd them very intrac- 1652. table: so that he was forc'd to break and imprifon many of his officers; and he flatter'd the His ma-rest as well as he could, going on in his old with the

way of long and dark discourses.

HE was apprehensive of affaffination, and o- With the ther plottings from the Cavalier party; as to Cavaliers. the former of which, he took a method that prov'd of great use to him: He would many times openly declare, "That in a war it was " necessary to return upon any fide, all the vio-" lent things that any of the one fide did to the " other; and this for the preventing greater " mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: " And that affaffinations were fuch deteftable " things, that he would never begin them; but " if any of the king's party should endeavour " to affaffinate him, and fail in it, he would make an affaffinating war of it, and deftroy the whole " family." And he pretended he had instruments to do this, whenever he should order it. This struck such a terror, that it proved a better fecurity to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting against him, he had his agents and spies amongst them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their schemes were broken, and their designs frustrate, before they could bring them to perfection.

THE Presbyterians so dreaded the fury of the With the common-wealth party, that they look'd upon Presbyte-Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy de-rians. liverance for them: and to fosten these the more, he affur'd them he would maintain a publick ministry with all due encouragement, which the Republicans were mostly against; and he joined them in a commission with some Independents to be Tryers of all publick preachers, who should,

for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The persons so commission'd did likewise dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheless, when he perceiv'd that the Presbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneasy under the government or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let loose against them those of the other felts, who took pleasure in disputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worfhip: and 'tis faid, he was by many heard to glory. That he had curb'd that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself. So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the exercise of their religious worship in their own congregations.

With the commonwealth party.

The Republican party were his greatest enemies, and most bent on his ruin, looking on him as the person who had persidiously broken all their measures, and betray'd their glorious cause. This party therefore he studied by all means to divide among themselves, and to set the fifthmonarchy men, and other enthuliafts, against those who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty; fuch as Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.

As to Vane and his party, who were likewise call'd Independents, they indeed, from the time they were turn'd out of the long parliament, retir'd quietly into the country, where they endeavour'd to prejudice their neighbours against the present government, and yet manag'd themselves with so much caution, as not to diffurb the quiet of the nation, nor give the Protector any great advan-

tage against them.

The Levellers, many of whom had been the most active Agitators in the army, were the most furious and desperate of all the common-wealth party. These, from the time that the general affum'd the title of Protector, which was to them as odious as that of King, profess'd a mortal hatred to his person; and he knew very well that these men, as well as the last mention'd, had great credit in his army, and with some of the chief officers; so that he more really dreaded them, than all the king's party, and fubtilly colour'd many of the preparations he made against them, as if they were design'd against the other. The fifth-monarchy men feem'd to be in daily expediation of the coming of king Jesus, and the Protector found it no easy matter to give them fatisfaction, fince his affuming the government after this manner, look'd like a ftep to kingship, which they represented as the great Anti-christ, which hinder'd Christ's being set on his throne. To these men he would say with many tears, "That he would rather have taken a shepherd's thaff than the Protectorship, fince nothing was " more contrary to his genius, than a shew of " greatness: but he saw it was necessary at that " time, to keep the nation from falling into ex-" treme disorder, and from becoming open to " the common enemy; and therefore he only " flept in between the living and the dead, in " that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to fettle; and then " he would furrender the heavy load lying upon " him with a joy equal to the forrow with which " he was affected, while under that shew of dig-" nity." He would also carry himself with great familiarity towards these men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them fit down cover'd by him, that T 2

they might see how little he car'd for those distances, which for form's fake he was forc'd to keep up with others; and their discourse commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus, with much ado, he pretty well manag'd the Enthufiasts of the common-wealth party. As to the other Republicans, many of whom were inclin'd to Deism, he call'd them the heathens, and acknowledg'd he could not so easily work upon them. He had fome chaplains of all forts, and became at length more gentle towards the Episcopal party, who had their meetings in several places about London, without being molested by him. In the end, even the Roman Catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carry'd things farther with all parties than was thought possible, confidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with.

His first council.

THAT he might the better manage the fevel ral factions he stood most in awe of, he made choice of the most active and leading men into his council, by whose influence he had the guiding of all the rest of each party. The first persons nominated to be of his council, purfuant to the instrument of government, were, major-general Lambert, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Montague (afterwards made earl of Sandwich by king Charles II.) Philip lord viscount Lifle (fince earl of Leicester) colonel Desborough, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (after earl of Shaftsbury) Sir Charles Woolsley, major-general Skippon, Mr. Strickland, colonel Sydenbam, colonel Jones, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major; in all fifteen.

He fets

On the 21st of December, a proclamation was our a pro- publish'd by his highness, with the advice and clamation. confent of his council, in the following terms: " Oliver, lord Protector of the common-wealth

" of England, Scotland, and Ireland, confidering, "That whereas the exercise of the chief magiftracy, and the administration of government, " within the faid common-wealth is invested and " established in his highness, assisted with a coun-" cil; and lest thereupon the settled and ordina-" ry course of justice in the common wealth (if " remedy were not provided) might receive in-" terruption; his highness, in his care of the " flate and publick justice thereof (reserving to " future consideration the reformation and re-" dress of any abuses by misgovernment, upon " better knowledge taken thereof) is pleased, and " doth hereby exprelly fignify, declare, and or-" dain, by and with the advice and confent of " his council (who have power, until the meet-" ing of the next parliament, to make laws and " ordinances for the peace and welfare of these " nations, where it shall be necessary; which " shall be binding and in force, until order shall " be taken in parliament concerning the fame) "That all persons, who on the tenth day of this " instant December, were duly and lawfully pos-" fessed of any place of judicature, or office of " authority, jurisdiction, or government, within "this common-wealth, shall be, and shall so hold "themselves continued in the said offices and "places respectively, as formerly they held and "enjoy'd the same, and not otherwise, until his " highness's pleasure be farther known: And all " commissions, patents, and other grants, which " respect or relate unto the doing and executing " of publick justice, and all proceedings of what " nature foever in courts of common-law or " equity, or in the court of admiralty, or by " commissioners of sewers, shall stand and be in " the same and like force to all intents and purposes, as the same were on the said tenth

"day of this instant December, until farther order given by his highness therein: and that in the mean time (for preservation of the publick peace, and necessary proceedings in matters of justice, and for safety of the state) all the said persons, of whatsoever place, power, degree or condition, may not fail, every one severally, according to his respective place, office, or charge, to proceed in the performance and execution of all duties thereunto belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and every of them, whilst the former government was in being. Given at Whitehall this 21st day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1653."

Several ordinances pass'd by him.

On the 27th, the lord Protector and his council pass'd an ordinance, for continuing the excise and the commissioners: another for continuing the act for redemption of captives: and a third for the alteration of feveral names and forms, used heretofore in courts, writs, grants, patents, commissions, &c. and settling proceedings in courts of law and equity. And shortly after, another ordinance was pass'd, appointing a committee of the army, and treasurers at war, as formerly. These and a great many other ordinances were pass'd by the lord Protector and his council, before the meeting of the parliament, His highness apply'd himself very closely to bufiness, and was indefatigable in the management of the publick affairs.

His magnificent entertainment in the city. ALL things feeming to favour the Protector and his government, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the lord mayor and aldermen, to dine at Grocers-ball on the 8th day of February, being Ash-wednesday. Accordingly, he rode thither in great state, the streets being rail'd on both sides, and the rails cover'd with blue cloth, and the several companies in their liveries standing

standing all the way, according to their superiori- 1653. ty, with the city banner and streamers of the respective companies set before them. The lord mayor Viner, with the aldermen in scarlet and gold chains, rode to Temple bar, where meeting his highness with his train, he deliver'd up the fword to him, and after a short congratulatory speech, they proceeded to Grocers-ball in the following manner: The city-marshal, with fome other officers, march'd first; then fix trumpets, and after them his highness's life-guard; next, eight trumpets more, follow'd by the cityftreamers: then the aldermen, and the two sheriffs after them: then his highness's heralds, with rich coats, adorn'd with the arms of the common-wealth. After them, the mace and cap of maintenance were carried before the lord mayor. who carried the fword bare-headed before his highness the lord Protector, who follow'd with twelve footmen in grey liveries laced with filver, and other ornaments. After the Protector rode major-general Skippon, with the rest of the council, and the great officers of the army. Being come to Grocers-hall, the recorder made a speech to his highness, declaring, " How happy that " city did account themselves under his auspi-" cious government, and also in the enjoyment. " of his presence with them that day." Then he was feafted in a most splendid and magnificent manner; and before his departure he knighted the lord mayor with as much grace as if he had been king. At this feast, we are told, that when it was propos'd to serve him on the knee, he refus'd it with some disdain, saying, Such ceremonies should be only practised at Rome, where they are so greedy of ceremonies, or in kingdoms govern'd by tyrants; but should be banish'd out of a Christian and Protestant common-wealth, as was that

Addresses and em-

baffies to

him,

that of England. Within a short time after, his highness invited the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs to dine with him at Whitehall; and it was observ'd, that in all his entertainments, audiences, &c. he maintain'd the port of a great prince, as much as if he had been to born and bred; that his foul extended itself always in proportion to the room that was given it, and in whatever space he stood, he always fill'd it. And now addresses were presented to the lord Protector from all parts of the three nations, congratulating his accession to the government: and feveral foreign ministers came over to him, acknowledging his power, courting his alliance,

and giving him his title of Highness.

1654. He concludes a peace with the Dutch.

THE lord Protector foon concluded the peace with the Dutch, having brought them to accept of fuch conditions as he thought fit to give them: among which one was, That they should not permit any of the king's party, or any enemy of the common-wealth of England, to refide within their dominions; and another, which was contain'd in a fecret article, to which the great feal of the States was affix'd, whereby they oblig'd themselves, " Never to permit the prince " of Orange to be their Stadtholder, general or admiral; and also to deliver up the island of e Polerone in the East-Indies, which they had " taken from the English in the reign of king " James, into the hands of the English East-India company; and to pay three hundred thouer fand pounds for the old barbarous violence exercis'd towards the English at Amboyna;" for which the two last kings could not obtain any fatisfaction: " That they should comply with the act of Navigation; and that they flould own the sovereignty of the sea to be in the common-wealth of England, and no

more dispute the flag." And thus about the 1654; beginning of April, the whole peace was concluded between the lord Protector and the States General, with all the advantages to himself he could defire.

THE Lord Protector, according to the power He makes given him by the inftrument of government, several supply'd the benches of the courts at Westmin- Promofter, with the ablest of the lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick fervice. Mr. Maynard, Twisden, Nudigate, Windham, &c. were made serjeants at law; and Mr. Matthew Hale one of the justices of the common pleas, &c. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been fecretary to the chief-justice St. John, when he was ambaffador at the Hague, was advanc'd to the office of fecretary of state. And to keep the other two nations in order and obedience, his highness fent general Monk back again into Scotland, and his youngest son Henry Cromwell into Ireland, whom he made his lieutenant of that kingdom.

As the Protector discover'd a wonderful geni- He is us in the management of affairs at home, so his fear'd and power and policy were more and more observ'd, courted by foreign and reverenc'd abroad; and all nations now contended, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him. Denmark had the favour of being taken into the Dutch treaty, upon the good terms of making the States responsible for one hundred and forty thousand pounds, to repair the damage which the English suffer'd from the Danes. About the same time, by the negotiation of his ambassador Whitelock, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of Sweden. He forc'd Portugal to fend an ambaffador to beg peace, and to submit to make satisfaction for the offence they had committed

2654. in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great fum of money; and brought even the two crowns of France and Spain, to fue for his alliance: For which purpose, the ambassador of the former, Monsieur de Bourdeaux, had an audience of his highness in the Banquetting-house, Whiteball, on the 29th of March, with the same state and ceremony, as is wont to be us'd towards fovereign princes; when he addressed himself thus to him.

The French ambaffador's speech to him.

"Your most serene highness has already re-" ceiv'd some principal affurances of the king my master, of his desire to establish a perfect cor-" respondency betwixt his dominions and Eng-" land. His majesty, this day, gives to your " highness some publick demonstration of the " fame; and his fending his ambaffador to your " highness, does plainly shew, that the esteem which his majesty makes of your highness, and interest of his people, have more power " in his councils than many confiderations, that would be of great concernment to a prince less affected with the one and the other. This proceeding, grounded upon such principles, and so different from what is only guided by ambition, renders the amity of the king my master as considerable for its firmness as its uti-" lity; for which reason it is so eminently e-" fleem'd and courted by all the greatest princes and potentates of the earth. But his majefty communicates none to any with fo much joy and chearfulness, as to those whose virtuous acts and extraordinary merits render them more conspicuously famous, than the largeness of " their dominions. His majesty is sensible, that " all those advantages do wholly reside in your " highness; and that the divine providence, after fo many calamities, could not deal more ce favour-

favourably with these three nations, nor cause 1654. " them to forget their past miseries with greater fatisfaction, than by submitting them to fo " just a government. And fince it is not suffi-" cient for the compleating of their happiness, " to make them enjoy peace at home, because it depends no less on good correspondency with " nations abroad; the king my master does not " doubt but to find also the same disposition in " your highness, which his majesty here expres-" fes in his letters. After so many dispositions " expressed both by his majesty and your high-" ness, towards the accommodation of the two " nations, there is reason to believe, that their " wishes will be soon accomplish'd. As for me, " I have none greater, than to be able to ferve " the king my master, with the good pleasure " and satisfaction of your highness; and that the happiness I have, to tender to your highness " the first affurances of his majesty's esteem, " may give me occasion, by my services, to me-" rit the honour of your gracious affection."

THE Protector's zeal for the protestant religion appear'd on feveral occasions; of which I shall here insert one instance, leaving others to some following periods of this history. It is that of a letter to the prince of Tarente in France, written in Latin (his Latin fecretary being the immor-

tal Milton) which is as follows:

OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, His letter Hibernia, &c. Illustrissimo Principi Tarentino, sa- to the lutem. Perspectus ex literis tuis ad me datis religionis prince of amor tuus, & in ecclesias reformatas pietas eximia, studiumą, singulare, in ista præsertim generis nobilitate ac splendore, eog; sub regno, in quo, deficientibus ab orthodoxa fide, tot sunt nobilissimis quibusq; spes uberes propositæ, tot sirmioribus incommoda subeunda; permagno me plane gaudio ac voluptate

1654: luptate affecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuisse me tibi eo ipso religionis nomine, quo nibil mibi dilectius atq; charius imprimis effe debet. Deum autem obteftor, quam de me spem ecclesiarum & expectationem esse ostendis, si possim ei aliquando vel satisfacere, si opus erit, vel demonstrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deeffe. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum bujus, quam obtineo in republica mea, five dignitatis, five muneris, nec ampliorem existimarem nec jucundiorem, quam ut idoneus sim, qui ecclesiæ reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumitati, vel, quod maximum eft, paci serviam. Te vero bortor magnopere, ut religionem orthodoxam, qua pietate ac studio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atq; constantia ad extremum usque retineas. Nec sane quidquam erit te tuisq; parentibus religiosissimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tua causa cupio omnia, optare tibi melius aut præclarius queam, quam si sic te pares atq, instituas, ut ecclesiæ præsertim patriæ, quarum in disciplina tam fælici indole tamq; illustri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præsidium suis rebus constitutum esse sentiant. Vale. Alba aula, Die 26 Junii, 1654. Illustrissima dignitatis vestræ studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS.

Which letter I have thus translated:

"OLIVER, Protector of the common-wealth " of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. To the " most illustrious prince of Tarente, greeting. It was a very great pleasure and satisfaction to " me, to perceive by your highness's letter which " you fent me, your love of religion, and your extraordinary zeal and concern for the reformed churches, especially considering your qualities,

and that you live in a country where fuch great " things are promised to all persons of your rank, " if they for sake the orthodox faith, and so ma-" ny discouragements are laid in the way of those " who continue stedfast. Nor was it less pleas-" ing to me, to find that your highness approv-" ed of my care and concern for the same reli-" gion, than which nothing ought to be more " dear and precious to me. And I call God to witness, how defirous I am, according as I " have ability and opportunity, to answer the hope " and expectation which you fay the churches " have concerning me, and to manifest it to all. " Indeed I should esteem it the greatest and best " fruit of my labours, and of this dignity, or " office, which I hold in this common-wealth, " to be put in a capacity of being fervice-" able either to the enlargement, or the fafe-" ty, or, which is the chief of all, the peace " of the reformed church. And I earn-" eftly exhort your highness that you would " hold fast to the end the orthodox religion you " have receiv'd from your fathers, with a firm-" ness and constancy of mind equal to the piety " and zeal you discover in the profession of it. " Nor indeed can there be any thing more wor-" thy of your felf and of your most pious parents; " and, tho' I could defire all things for your " fake, yet I can wish you nothing better, no-" thing more excellent, in return for the civilities " you have shewn me, than that you so conduct " your felf, that the churches, especially those of " your own country, in whose discipline you " were born with fo happy a disposition and of " fuch a noble family, may find in you a pro-" testion answerable to the high station in which " you are plac'd above others. Farewell. Whitecc ball

" ball, June 26, 1654. Your highness's most " affectionate and most devoted,

A. A. A. OLIVER. To be a bigh court of halfice.

an union of the three nations.

and condemn d. Figs. who confeis drough of what He makes THE lord Protector had refolv'd more firmly to unite the three nations into one common-wealth. Accordingly, with confent of his council, he made an ordinance, April the 12th, declaring, " How he had taken into consideration, that the ee people of Scotland ought to be united with the beople of England, into one common-wealth, " and under one government; and had found, that in December 1651, the parliament then fitting had fent commissioners into Scotland. to invite the people of that nation unto fuch " a happy union; who proceeded so far therein, that the shires and boroughs did accept of the " faid union, and affent thereunto: For the " compleating and perfecting which union, he now ordain'd, That all the people of Scotland, and of all the dominions and territories there-" unto belonging, should be incorporated into one " common-wealth with England; and in every par-" liament to be beld successively for the said common-wealth, thirty persons should be call'd from, " and serve for Scotland, &c." And shortly after, another ordinance was made for a like diftribution of thirty members from Ireland, to ferve in the parliament at Westminster. About the fame time an ordinance was publish'd, prohibiting the planting of Tobacco in England; which is a law at this day.

A confpiracy, for which Gerard are executed

ABOUT this time several persons were apprehended, and charged with a conspiracy to murder the lord Protector as he should be going to Hampton-court, to feize the guards, the Tower and vowel of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the

the king. The chief of these were Mr. So- 1654 merfet Fox, Mr. John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel; who being tried by a high court of justice, and condemn'd, Fox, who confess'd much of what was alledg'd against him, had the benefit of a reprieve; but Gerard was beheaded on Towerbill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-cross; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great magnanimity and resolution.

On the same day, there was another executi- The Post on of an extraordinary nature : Don Pantaleon Sa, sugal amthe Portugal ambassador's brother, a knight of bassador's Malta, and a person eminent in many great acti- brother commits ons, who out of curiofity to fee England, came a riot. over with the ambassador, happen'd to have a quarrel in the New-Enchange with the forementioned Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next day, with servants arm'd with fwords and piftols; where they kill'd another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded feveral others. Upon this there was rais'd a great tumult, and the Portuguese flying to the ambassador's house, the people came flocking thither from all parts to feife the murderers. Cromwell being inform'd of the matter, fent an officer, with a party of foldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more especially demanded of the ambaffador the person of his brother, threatening, if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the house, and take him out by force. The ambaffador infifted upon the privilege due to his house by the law of nations, and defir'd time to fend to the Protector, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requested an audience. His highness sent him word, "That a gentleman had been murdered, and others wounded, and that Justice " must

" must be satisfied; requiring, that all persons " concern'd might be deliver'd up to his officer; " without which, if he should withdraw his foldiers, the people would execute justice, by a way for which he would not be answerable: but this being done, he should have an audience, and all the fatisfaction it was in his co power to give." The ambassador finding it in yain to contend, and the multitude encreasing their cry, That they would pull down the boufe, he was to his great grief forc'd to deliver up his brother with the rest, who were all fent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador was most earnest in his solicitations for his brother, being willing the others should be left to the law; but all the answer he could have, was, That justice must be done. And justice was done to the utmost; for being all try'd by a jury of half English and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them the ambaffador's brother, were condemn'd to die. All were hang'd at Tyburn, fays the lord Clarendon, Whitelock He is con- fays they were all repriev'd, except Don Pantaleon, who, immediately after the execution of Gerard, was convey'd from Newgate to Towerbill, in a mourning coach and fix horses, attended by feveral of his brother's retinue'; and there on the same scaffold lost his head, with as much terror and dejection of spirit, as Gerard had done with courage and refolution. This mightily raifed the opinion of the Protector's justice, as well as of his power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very day of this execution, the Portugal ambaffador was obliged to fign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town. AND here Dr. Welwood remarks, " That

" whatever reason the house of Austria had to

ce hate

demn'd and executed.

Dr. Welavood's remark upon it.

hate the memory of Cromwell, yet his causing 1654. the Portugal amballador's brother to be exe-" cuted, notwithstanding his plea of being a pub-" lick minister as well as his brother, was, near "twenty years after Cromwell's death, brought as a precedent by the emperor, to justify his " arresting and carrying off the prince of Fursten-" burgh at the treaty of Cologne, notwithstand-" ing his being a plenipotentiary for the elector " of that name. And in the printed manifesto " published by the emperor on that occasion, " this piece of Gromwell's justice is related at " large."

THE Lord Protector knowing, that the' he The Prohad obtain'd the government, it was not con-tector firm'd to him by the people, refolv'd, in pursu- liament. ance of the instrument of government, to summon a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 3d of September; and accordingly order'd writs to be iffued out for the election of members to serve in parliament, after the manner laid down in the faid instrument. It was his greatest care how to manage this affembly, so that they might proceed according to his own defires; but tho' he had a great influence upon the people, and a great awe upon the sheriffs and magistrates, and brought the trial of elections into a committee of his own council, before the opening of the parliament, yet it prov'd not for his purpose; as we shall see in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

His Second PARLIAMENT.

The opening of his fecond parliament.

N the ad day of September, tho' it happened to be Sunday, the lord Protector, who reckon'd that his fortunate day, would have the parliament open'd: and so the members, after hearing a fermon at Westminster abbey, attended his highness in the Painted Chamber; where he made a speech to them, shewing the cause of their fummons; after which, they went to their house, and adjourn'd to the next day. The Protector then rode in state from Whitehall to Westminster abby, some hundreds of gentlemen and officers going before uncover'd, and next before the coach, his pages and lacqueys richly cloathed: on the one fide of his coach, went Strickland, one of his council, and captain of his guards, with the mafter of the ceremonies, both on foot; and on the other side, walk'd colonel Howard (afterwards earl of Carlifle) another captain of the guards. His fon Henry and Lambert fat with him in the coach bare-headed. After the coach came Claypole, mafter of the horse, with a gallant led horse, adorn'd with the richest trappings; and next after him the commissioners of the great seal, and of the treasury, and divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. Being come to the abby-door, his highness alighted; and the officers of the army and the gentlemen went first, next them four maces, then the commissioners of the seal, Whitelock carrying the purse, and Lambert the fword before him. His highness was feated over against the pulpit, and the members of parliament placed themselves on both fides of him. After

After the fermon, which was preach'd by Mr. Tho. Goodwin, his highness went in the same equipage to the Painted Chamber; where being feated in a chair of state fet upon steps, the members sitting upon benches round about, all bare, his highness put off his hat, and made a long and fubtle speech to them, which was in substance as follows:

He told them " the Danger of the Levelling His speech Principles, and of the Fifth-monarchy opinito the members. ons, of the form of godliness, and the great iudgment that had been upon this nation by ten years civil war. That the two pretenfi-" ons, liberty of the subject, and liberty of conscience (two as glorious things, and as much to " be contended for, as any gift God hath given us) were brought in to patronize those evils. " Nay, these abominations swelled to that height, " that the ax was laid to the root of the mi-" niftry, as Babylonish and Antichristian : And as the extremity was great before, fo that no " man, tho' well approv'd and having a good " testimony, might preach, if not ordain'd; so " now on the other hand, they will have ordi-" nation put a nullity upon the calling.

" I conceive in my very foul, said be, that " many of the Fifth-monarchy opinion have good " meanings; and I hope this parliament will " (as Jude fays, reckoning up the abominable " apostacies of the last times) pluck some out of the fire, and fave others with fear; making " those of peaceable spirits, the subjects of their encouragement, and faving others by that difto cipline that God hath ordain'd to reform mif-" carriages: The danger of that spirit being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civil transgression; when men come into such a practice, as to tell us, that liberty and pronion no sa U zana bannia " perty

" perty are not the bodies of that kingdom, and " that initead of regulating laws, laws must be " fubverted, and perhaps the judicial law impo-" fed, or some fancy instead of it (for that was " good and honourable in the institution, tho' " now by some misapply'd;) especially when " every stone is turn'd to bring in confusion; "this will be a confideration worthy of the ma-" gistrate. with commont thefore

"WHILST these things were in the midst of " us, and the nation rent and torn from one end

" to the other; family against family, parent " against child, and nothing in the hearts and

" minds of men, but Overturn, Overturn, (a " scripture very much abus'd and challenged by

" all men of discontented spirits;) that common " enemy in the mean time sleeps not; swarms

" of Jesuits come over, and have their consisto-" ries abroad, to rule all the affairs of England,

" and the dependencies thereof: In the mean time visible endeavours were us'd to hinder

" the work in Ireland, to obstruct the work in

" Scotland; Correspondencies and intelligences

were held to encourage the war in those

co places.

"AND withal, we were deeply engag'd in a war with Portugal, whereby our trade ceas'd; " and not only to, but a war with Holland, " which confum'd our treasure, as much as the " affessment came to. At the same time we fell " into a war with France, or rather we were in

" it: and all this fomented by the divisions a-" mongst us; which begat a confidence, we

" could not hold out long; and the calculation " had not been ill, if the Lord had not been

" gracious to us. Besides, strangers increased in " the manufacture, the great staple commodity

pprovide intensity of their reserving

of this nation. Had been bod of sovie

"IN such an heap of consusion was this poor nation; and that it might not sink into a consusion from the premises, a remedy must be applied: a remedy hath been applied, This government. A thing that is seen and read of all, and which (let men say what they will, I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intention; and let men judge out of the thing itself) is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest."

"I may, with humbleness towards God, and modesty before you, say something in the be-

" half of it."

or Dam swal

"and for that endeavour'd to reform the laws, and for that end hath join'd Persons (without reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to consider how the laws might be made plain, short and easy; which may in due time be tendered."

"IT hath taken care to put into feats of justice, men of the most known integrity and

" ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability: " ability:

"THE Chancery hath been reformed, and I hope to the just satisfaction of all good men."

"IT hath put a ftop to that heady way, for every man that will, to make himself a prea"cher, having endeavour'd to settle a way for approbation of men of piety and sitness for the work, and the business committed to perfons both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgment; men of as known ability and integrity, as (I suppose) any the nation hath, and who (I believe) have labour'd to approve themselves to God and their own consciences, in approving men to that great sunction."

" IT hath taken care to expunge men unfit for " that work, who have been the common fcorn

and reproach to that administration.

" ONE Thing more: It hath been instrumen-" tal to call a free parliament; bleffed be God, we see here this day a free parliament; and that it may continue fo, I hope, is in the heart

" of every good man of England: For my own " part, as I desir'd it above my life, so to keep

" it free, I shall value it above my life.

" A peace is made with Sweden (wherein an " honourable person [meaning Whitelock] was " instrumental) it being of much importance to have a good understanding with our Protestant

" neighbours.

" A PEACE is also made with the Danes, and " a peace there that is honourable, and to the

" fatisfaction of the merchants.

" THE Sound is open to us, from whence, as " from a fountain, our naval provisions are sup-" plied.

" A PEACE is made with the Dutch, which is fo well known in the consequences of it,

" and the great advantages of a good under-

" flanding with Protestant states.

" I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous of the Protestant interest abroad,

" which if ever it be like to come under a

condition of fuffering, it is now; many be-" ing banish'd, and driven to seek refuge among thall conclude with my personal as

" A PEACE is made with Portugal (tho' it " hung long) of great concernment to trade;

and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their consciences, without being

" subjected to the bloody inquisition.

" A TREATY with France likewise is now

depending.

" IT

ce IT may be necessary, in the next place, for 1654. " you to hear a little of the fea affairs, and to " take notice of the great expence of the forces

" and fleet; and yet 30000 has now abated of the

" next three months affefiment.

"THESE things, which I have before men-" tion'd, are but entrances, and doors of hope: " you are brought to the edge of Canaan (into which many that have gone before could " not enter) but if the bleffing and presence of " God go along with you in the management of

" your affairs, I make no question but he will enable you to lay the top-stone of this

co work. Loging visuar to morse

But this is a maxim not to be despised, Tho' " peace be made, yet it is interest that keeps peace, " and farther than that, peace is not to be trusted.

THE great end of calling this parliament, is, " that the work of God may go on, that the " ship of this common-wealth may be brought

into a fafe harbour.

" I shall put you in mind, that you have a " great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that " the beginning of that government may be fet-"tled in honour.o appadavos

" THAT you have before you, the confidera-" tion of those foreign states, with whom peace " is not made; who, if they fee we manage not

" our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, " will retain hopes, that we may still, under the

" disadvantages thereof, break into consusion. " I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to " have a fweet, gracious, and holy understand-" ing one of another, and put you in mind of the " counsel you heard this day in order thereunto.

" AND I defire you to believe, that I speak " not to you, as one that would be lord over "you, but as one that is refolv'd to be a fel-Burpage low

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1654. " low servant with you to the interest of this

THEN he wish'd them to repair to their house, and exercise their own liberty in the choice of

their speaker. The lot of the sound broked the bests

They chuse Lenthal their speaker, and debate on the instrument of government.

Being come to the parliament house, they almost unanimously made choice of the old speaker Mr. William Lenthal, master of the Rolls, to be their speaker. This done, they presently took the protector's inftrument of government into confideration; and the first debate they fell upon, was, Whether the supreme legislative power of the nation should be in a fingle person, and a parliament. And here many warm speeches were made in direct opposition to a single person; and one faid, "That they could not but difcern the " fnares laid to entrap the people's privileges; " and for his own part, as God had made him " instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one " person, so he could not endure to see the na-" tion's liberties shackled by another, whose " right to the government could be meafur'd out no other ways than by the length of his " fword, which was only that which emboldened him to command his commanders." These debates continued for feven or eight days together, to the great grief of the Protectorians, who to fave themselves were necessitated to find means for protracting time, and adjourning the house, when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly faw it would be carry'd in the negative.

The protector difpleas'd.

His highness being inform'd of these proceedings, and searing to have that great question put, lest he should be depos'd by a vote of this assembly, on the 12th of September early in the morning, caus'd a guard to be plac'd at the door of the house, and sent to the lord mayor to ac-

quaint

quaint him with the reasons of what he was a- 1654. bout to do, that he might prevent any disorder in the city. The members coming at the usual hour, were deny'd entrance, and commanded to attend the lord protector in the painted chamber;

where he spoke to them as follows:

HE told them, " That when he met them a Makes at " few days fince, and deliver'd his mind unto nother " them, he did it with much more hopes and speech to comfort than now; and that he was very forry " to find them falling into heats and divisions. "He represented to them the miscarriages of the co long parliament, and declar'd, That he had of-" ten press'd that affembly, as a member, to put " a period to themselves, telling them, That the " nation loath'd their sitting; and when they were " diffolv'd, there was no visible repining at it, " no not so much as the barking of a dog. He " fhew'd them, by what means he came to the " government, together with the confent that the " people had many ways given thereunto; and " faid, that the other day when he told them " they were a free parliament, he did also consi-" der, there was a Reciprocation: For that the " fame government, which made them a parlia-" ment, made him Protector; and as they were "entrusted with some things, so he was with o-" thers. That there were some things in the go-" vernment fundamental, which could not be al-" ter'd; as, I. That the government should be in " one person and a parliament. 2. That parlia-" ments should not be made perpetual; which would " deprive the people of their fuccessive elections: " Nor that the parliament should be always sitting, " that is, as foon as one parliament is up, ano-" ther should come and sit in their places the " very next day; which could not be, without fubjecting the nation to an arbitrary power in " govern-

1654. " governing, because parliaments, when they sit, " are absolute and unlimited. The third fundamental was in the matter of the Militia: For in order to prevent the two aforementioned in-" conveniencies, the militia was not to be entrustet ed in any one hand or power, but to be so disposed, that as the parliament ought to have a "check upon the Protector, to prevent excesses in him; so on the other hand, the Protector might have a check upon the parliament, to " prevent excesses in them; because if the militia " were wholly in the parliament, they might, "when they would, perpetuate themselves: But " now the militia being dispos'd as it is, the one flands as a counterpoize to the other; which renders the ballance of government the more " even, and the government it felf the more firm " and stable. The fourth fundamental in the " government, was about a due liberty of con-" science in matters of religion; wherein-bounds " and limits ought to be fet, fo as to prevent co persecution. That the rest of the things in the " government were examinable, and alterable, as "the occasion and the state of affairs should re-" quire. That as for a negative voice, he claim-" ed it not, save only in the foresaid particulars. "That in all other things he had only a delibe-" rative power; and if he did not pass such laws " as were presented to him, within twenty days " after their presentment, they were to be laws " without his consent. Therefore, things being " thus, he was forry to understand that any of "them should go about to overthrow what was " fo fettled, contrary to their trust receiv'd from " the people; which could not but bring on very " great inconveniencies: To prevent which, he " was necessitated to appoint a test, or recogniti-" on, of the government, which was to be fign'd cc by -mari" by them, before they went any more into the

" house."

THE said test or recognition was in these words: He ap-IA. B. do hereby freely promise and engage my self points to be true and faithful to the lord protector and them a the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ire- test. land; and shall not (according to the tenour of the indenture, whereby I am return'd to serve in this present parliament) propose, or give any consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one fingle

person, and a parliament.

THIS being ingross'd in parchment, was laid Which is on a table near the door of the house, for the subscrib'd members to subscribe before they should be qua- by several lify'd to fit. Accordingly, within a day or two, members, it was fign'd by about a hundred and thirty of them, and some days after by above as many more, who thereupon took their places in the house. 'Tis said, that those, who refus'd to subscribe this engagement, were not only excluded, but some of them taken into custody. Majorgeneral Harrison, the protector's late great favourite, was now fecur'd by a party of horse, by his highness's order; and colonel Rich, Mr. Carew and others, being fummon'd before the council, were requir'd to furrender their commissions; and because they refus'd to engage not to act against the lord protector and his government, they were committed to prison.

A debate arising in the house concerning the Their derecognition, it was thereupon declar'd, "That it claration " should not be intended to comprehend the thereupwhole contain'd in the forty two articles of the " instrument of government, but only that which " requir'd the government of the commonwealth They deto be by a fingle person, and successive parlia-bate the ments." The great point concerning the fin-remaining gle person being over-rul'd, the house apply'd govern-

them- ment.

liver Cromwell.

1654. themselves to the consideration and debate of the remaining clauses of the instrument of government. They declar'd, "That Oliver Cromwell inould be protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland and Ireland, with provision for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of thips, that they thought necessary " for the guard of the seas; and order'd two hundred thousand pounds a year for the pro-" tector's own expence, the falaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the " reception of ambaffadors; and that Whitehall, ce St. James's, the Mews, Somerfet-boufe, Greenwich, Hampton-Court, Windfor and the ma-" nour of York, be kept unfold for the protec-" tor's use. They also voted a clause to be in-" ferted, to declare the rights of the people of co England, and particularly, that no money " should be raised upon the nation, but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the instrument of government it was provided, that " if the parliament were not fitting at the death of the present protector, the council should " chuse a successor; they resolv'd, that nothing " fhould be determin'd by the council after his " death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to confider what they would have "done. They also approv'd and confirm'd the present lord deputy of Ireland, the present " lords commissioners of the great seal of Eng-" land, the commissioners of the treasury, and " the two chief justices. Among other things, " they debated the point of liberty of conscience " upon the new government, and agreed to al-" low it to all, who shall not maintain atheism, ce popery, prelacy, profaneness, or any damnable "herefies, to be enumerated by the parliament."

This

This highly pleas'd some men; and it is observable, that during these debates, the ministers were fo forward and zealous, that they propos'd several fundamentals in religion (viz. their own beloved opinions) to the parliament to be established by them. These debates upon the government continued for some months, in which time also the house took a transient view of the protector's own ordinances; particularly, one for paying the money into the treasury, rais'd for the propagation of the gospel in Wales: Another, to make foldiers free in corporations: Another, to remove all scandalous preachers and ministers; and a fourth for the surveying of king's and churches lands. And having gone through the instrument of government, they pass'd this additional vote, That no one clause, of what they had agreed upon, should be look'd upon as binding, unless the whole were consented to.

DURING these debates in parliament, an odd A private accident happen'd to the protector, which very accident much endanger'd his life. He having taken up- to the on himself the whole government of the nation, protector. and fent ambaffadors and agents to foreign kingdoms and states, was again very much courted by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries; and the duke of Holftein among the rest made him a present of a gallant set of grey Friezeland coach-horses. With these he had a mind to take the air in the Park, attended only with his fecretary Thurloe and his guards. Being come into the Park, he would needs take the place of the coach-man; and fo mounting the box, he began to lash and drive them on very furiously: But the horses, not us'd to such rough management, ran away with full speed, and never stopp'd, till their driver was thrown with great violence out of the box; with which fall

essentine ad

1654. his pistol fir'd in his pocket, though he had the

good fortune to receive no hurt.

The parliament not for his purpole.

In the debates upon the government, many things were faid, which gave great offence to the protector and his council, and made it plainly appear, that the parliament were not inclinable to answer their whole defire and expectation, and fall in with all they defign'd: Hereupon he grew very uneasy, till the five Months, allow'd for their fitting by his own instrument of government, should be expir'd. And though the form of government, which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material point from that which himself had fet up, unless it were in referving the nomination of his fuccessor to the parliament; yet this one thing was thought very disagreeable to him, and some of his council. However, the dissolution of this affembly was, after much debate in council, refolv'd on; and fo the five months of their fession, according to the soldiers account of twenty eight days to the month, were no fooner ended, but the members on the 22d of January were requir'd to attend him in the Painted chamber, where he diffolv'd them with this most tedious and intricate speech.

He makes a speech, and disfolves them.

"GENTLEMEN, I perceive you are here as the house of parliament, by your speaker, whom "I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a

"great measure, known to me.
"WHEN I first met you in this room, it was
"to my apprehension the hopefullest day that
"ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of
this world: For I did look at (as wrapt up
in you, together with my self) the hopes and
the happiness of (though not of the greatest,
yet a very great, and) the best people in the
world; and truly and unseignedly I thought
fo; as a people that have the highest and clear.

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"glory (to wit) religion; as a people that have been like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, and yet never so low, but we might measure with other nations; and a people that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all our former glowry and honour, in the things that are of glowry to nations, in an Epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

"AND (if I be not very much mistaken) we were arriv'd (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others did think) at a very safe port, where we might sit down, and comtemplate the dispensations of God, and our mercies not to have been like to those of the ancients, who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, that all ours were let down to us from God himself, whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to

" be out-match'd, in any flory."

TRULY this was our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded, in that most excellent Psalm of David, Psalm 78.v.4,5,6,7, The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonder-ful works which he hath done; for he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, e-

wen the children that should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments."

" This, I thought, had been a fong and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might

" have happily invited them, had you had hearts

" unto it.

"You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you; and if a history shall be written of

"these times, and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) but that these things I

" have spoken are true.

"I shall recur to that which I said at the first:

"I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this

" place: but we and these nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had

" purpos'd to have play'd the orator, which I

"did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one of you will grant, we

" did meet upon such hopes as these.

" I met you a second time here, and I conself fess at that meeting I had much abatement of
my hopes, though not a total frustration. I

" confess, that that which dampt my hopes so

" foon, was somewhat that did look like a parri" cide. It is obvious enough unto you, that the

" management of affairs did favour of a not-own" ing, too too much favour, I fay, of a not-

" owning the authority that called you hither;

" but God left us not without an expedient, that gave a second possibility. Shall I say a

" possibility? It seemed to me a probability of recovering out of that dissatisfy'd condition, we

" were all then in, towards some mutuality of

cc satis

fuiting with the indenture that return'd you hither, to which afterwards also was added your own declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of that expedient; whereby you had (tho' with a little check) another opportunity renew'd unto you to have made this nation as happy, as it could have been, if every thing had smoothly run on from the first hour of

" your meeting.

"And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a foldier, that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first have made way for very great and happy successes.

"AND I did not at all despond, but the stop put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that that inter"ruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from destructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better deliberations; whereby leaving the government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome laws which the people expected from you: and might have answer'd the grievances and settled those other things proper to you as a parliament, and for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you.

"WHAT hath happen'd fince that time, I have not taken publick notice of, as declining to intrench upon parliament privileges; for fure I am, you will all bear me witness that from your entering into the house upon the Resognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine, in proceeding to that bleffed iffue the heart of

a good man could propose to himself, to this

" very day.

"You see you have me very much lock'd up, as to what you transacted among yourselves, from that time to this; but something I shall take liberty to speak of to you. As I may

" not take notice what you have been doing, fo "I think I have very great liberty to tell you

that I do not know what you have been doing:

"I do not know whether you have been alive or dead: I have not once *beard* from you in all this time; I have not, and that you all know:

If that be a fault that I have not, furely it

" hath not been mine.

" IF I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have fat down by them, why might it not

" have been very lawful to me, to think that I was a person judg'd unconcern'd in all these

" businesses? I can assure you, I have not rec-

" cern'd in you; and so long as any just patience

could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from

you, the issues of your consultations and resolutions; I have been careful of your safety, and

"the fafety of those that you represented, to

whom I reckon myself a servant.

"But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been

done or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of parliament, since you sat?

"I look at myself as strictly oblig'd by my oath, fince your recognizing the government, in the

" authority of which you were called hither,

" and fat, to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary inter-

ec ruption.

"THINK you I could not fay more upon 1654. "this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon on? but because my actions plead for me, I

" fhall fay no more of this.

"I say I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your privileges (as I faid before) that they might not be interrupted; ed; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these nations; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in any thing promote, in my place, the real good of this parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you.

"AND I did think it to be my business, ra"ther to see the utmost issue, and what God
"would produce by you, than unseasonably to
"intermeddle with you. But, as I said before,
"I have been caring for you, and for the peace
and quiet of the nations, indeed I have, and
"that I shall a little presently manifest unto

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"AND it leadeth me to let you know some what that I fear, I fear will be through some interpretation a little too justly put upon you, whilst you have been employ'd as you have been (and in all that time expressed in the government, in that government, I say in that government) brought forth nothing that you yourselves can be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges.

"I WILL tell you somewhat, that (if it be not news to you) I wish you had taken very ferious consideration of; if it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner; and yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already, because I did make it

my business to give no interruption.

"THERE

"THERE be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees; there be " fome that chuse (a man may fay so by way " of allusion) to thrive under the shadow of o-" ther trees; I will tell you what hath thriven, " I will not say what you have cherish'd under " your shadow, that were too hard. Instead of the peace and settlement, instead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteousness and to peace kissing each other, by reconciling the ho-" nest people of these nations, and settling the " woful distempers that are amongst us (which " had been glorious things, and worthy of Chri-" flians to have propos'd) weeds and nettles, bri-" ars and thorns have thriven under your shadow. " Diffettlement and divisions, discontentment and " diffatisfaction, together with-real dangers to " the whole, has been more multiplied within " these five months of your sitting, than in some ce vears before.

"Foundations have been also laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations, by all the enemies of it abroad and at home; let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true, as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be; I say the enemies of the peace of these nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns, they have nourish'd themselves under your shadow.

"AND that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from your strains, from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no settlement, and therefore they have framed their designs, pre-

paring for the execution of them accordingly. 1654. "Now whether (which appertains not to me

" to judge of on their behalf) they had any occa-" fion minister'd for this, and from whence they

" had it, I lift not to make any feruting or fearch;

" but I will fay this, I think they had them " not from me, I am fure they had not; from

" whence they had it, is not my business now

" to discourse, but that they had, is obvious

" to every man's sense.

WHAT preparations they have made to " execute in such a season as they thought fit to " take their opportunity from, that I know (not " as men know things by conjecture, but) by " certain demonstrable knowledge, that they " have been (for some time past) furnishing " themselves with arms, nothing doubting but " that they should have a day for it, and veri-" ly believing that whatfoever their former dif-" appointments were, they should have more done " for them by and from our own divisions, than "they were able to do for themselves. " not, and I defire to be understood so, that " in all I have to fay on this subject, you will " take it that I have no refervation in my mind " to mingle things of guess and suspicion with " things of fast, but the things I am telling are " fact, things of evident demonstration.

"THESE weeds, briars and thorns, they have " been preparing, and have brought their de-" signs to some maturity, by the advantages given " to them, as aforesaid, from your sitting and " proceedings; but by the waking eye that watched " over that cause that God will bless, they have " been and yet are disappointed. And having " mention'd that cause, I say that slighted cause, " let me speak a few words in behalf thereof

" (though it may seem too long a digression:)

"Whosoever despiseth it, and will say it is Non cc causa pro causa, the all-searching eye before mentioned will find out that man, and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God, nor the operations of his hands, for which God hath threaten'd that he will cast men down, and not build them up; that because he can dispute, and tell us, He knew not where the cause begun, or where it is, but modelleth it according to his own intellect, and " fubmits not to the appearances of God in the world, therefore he lifts up his heel against "God, and mocketh at all his providences, laugh-" ing at the observations made up not without " reason and the scriptures, but by the quicken-" ing and teaching spirit, which gives life to the " other, calling fuch observations enthusiasms. " Such men, I say, no wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and be broken, and fnared, " and taken, by the things of which they are fo maliciously and wilfully ignorant. The fcrico ptures say, The rod hath a voice, and he will make himself known, and he will make him-" felf known by the judgments which he exc-" cuteth; and do we not think he will, and does by the providences of mercy and kindness which he hath for his people, and for their just liberties, whom he loves as the apple of his eye? Doth he not by them manifest " himself? And is he not thereby also seen, giving kingdoms for them, giving men for them, " and people for their lives? as it is in the 43d " of Isaiah. Is not this as fair a lecture, and " as clear speaking, as any thing our dark rea-" fon, left to the letter of the scriptures, can " collect from them. By this voice has God " spoken very loud on the behalf of his people, by judging their enemies in the late war, and " resto" restoring them a liberty to worship with the 1654.
" freedom of their consciences, and freedom in their estates and persons, when they do so. And

"thus we have found the cause of God by the works of God, which are the testimony of God,

" upon which rock whosoever splits, shall suffer

" fhipwrack.

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But it is our glory, and it is mine, if I have any in the world, concerning the interest of those that have an interest in a better world; It is my glory, that I know a cause, which yet we have not lost, but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose. But you will excuse this long digref-

"I say unto you, whilst you have been in the midst of these transactions, that party, that ca"valier party (I could wish some of them had thrust in here to have heard what I say) the cavalier party have been designing and preparing to put this nation in blood again with a witness; but because I am consident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that; only this I must tell you, they have been making great preparations of arms, and I do believe, will be made evident to you, that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all that this city could afford, for divers months last past.

"But it will be faid, May we not arm our felves for the defence of our houses? will any body find fault for that? No, for that, the reason of their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so, for which I hope by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the nation, answer it with their lives, and then the business

will be pretty well out of doubt.

" BANKS

"BANKS of money have been framing for these," and other such like uses; letters have been issued, with privy seals, to as great persons as most are in the nation, for the advance of moneys, which have been discovered to us by the persons themselves; commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and command of castles, have been

" likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your fitting; and what the general insolences of that party have been, the honest geople have been

" sensible of, and can very well testify.

"IT hath not been only thus; but as in a quinzy or pleurify, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, it will gather to that place to the hazarding of the whole:

"that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so, till it destroy na-

ture, in that person on whomsoever this be-

"So likewise will those diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper;

" and this was that which I did affert, that they have taken accidental causes, for the growing

" and encreasing of those distempers, as much

" as would have been in the natural body, if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed,

"things were come to that pass (in respect of which I shall give you a particular account)

"that no mortal physician, if the great physician had not stept in, could have cured the

" distemper.

"SHALL I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am fure I can lay it upon God's account, that if he had not ftept in, the difease had been mortal and destructive; and what is all this? Truly I must needs say, a company of men, still like briars and thorns, and worse if worse can be, of another fort than those before mentioned to you, have been, and yet are, and endea-

" endeavouring to put us into blood, and into con- 1654" fusion, more desperate and dangerous confusi-

con than England ever yet faw.

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"AND I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man, than of a stripling; which shews, there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls; so it is some satisfaction, if a common-wealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts; that if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men, than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, when they oppress, they leave nothing behind them, but are as sweeping rain.

"Now, such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, what
have they done? I hope, though they pretend
the commonwealth's interest, they have had no
encouragement from you, but that as before,
rather taken it, than that you have administer'd any cause unto them for so doing, from
delays, from hopes that this parliament would
not settle, from pamphlets, mentioning strange
votes and resolves of yours, which I hope did
abuse you. Thus you see, whatever the grounds
were, these have been the effects. And thus
I have laid these things before you, and others
will be easily able to judge how far you are
concerned.

"AND what have these men done? they have also laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the honest-meaning people of the nation; they have laboured to engage some in the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but some others also very well known to you,

" have

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"AND what have these men done? they have also laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the honest-meaning people of the nation; they have laboured to engage some in the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but some others also very well known to you,

" have

"have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the army; they have, they have; I would be loth to fay, who, where, and how, much more loth to fay, they were any of your own number, but I can fay, endeavours have been us'd to put the army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the army, which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took their advantage from a delay of the settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and stopping to pay off the army, to run us into free quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniencies most to be feared and avoided.

"What if I am able to make it appear in fact, that some amongst you have run into the city of London to persuade to petitions and addresses to you for reversing your own votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your liberties, or tended to beget hopes of peace and settlement from you; and whether debauching the army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon free quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there, and kindling by the rest a fire in our

"own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge.

"This I tell you also, that the correspondency held with the interest of cavaliers, by that party of men, called levellers, and who call themselves common-wealths-men; whose declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their common rising, whereof we are possess'd; and for which we have the confession of themselves mow in custody; who confess also they built their

" their hopes upon the affurance they had of 1654. " the parliament's not agreeing to a fettlement ; U " whether these humours have not nourished

" themselves under your boughs, is the subject

" of my present discourse, and I think I say

" not amis if I affirm it to be so.

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" AND I must say it again, that that which " hath been their advantage, thus to raise dif-" turbance, hath been by the loss of those golden " opportunities, that God had put into your hands " for settlement. Judge you whether these things " were thus or no; when you first sat down I am " fure things were not thus; there was very great " peace and fedateness throughout these nations, " and great expectations of a fettlement, which " I remembred to you at the beginning of my " speech, and hoped that you would have entered

" upon your business as you found it.

"THERE was a government in the possession " of the people, I say a government in the pos-" fession of the people, for many months, it hath " now been exercised near fifteen months; and " if it were needful that I should tell you how " it came into their poffession, and how willing-" ly they received it; how all law and justice " were distributed from it, in every respect, as " to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned " by God, as being the dispensation of his pro-" vidence after twelve years war, and fealed and " witneffed unto by the people; I should but re-" peat what I faid in my last speech made unto " you in this place, and therefore I forbear.

" WHEN you were enter'd upon this government, raveling into it (you know I took no no-" tice what you were doing) if you had gone " upon that foot of account, to have made fuch " good and wholesome provisions for the good of the people of these nations, for the settling

" of fuch matters in things of religion as would " have upheld and given countenance to a god-" In ministry, and yet would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, men of the same faith with them that you call the orthodox ministry in England, as it is well known the independants are, and many under the form " of baptism, who are sound in the faith, only er may perhaps be different in judgment in some " leffer matters, yet as true christians, both looke ing at falvation only by faith in the blood of " Christ, men professing the fear of God, hav-" ing recourse to the name of God, as to a strong tower; I say, you might have had opportunity " to have fettled peace and quietness amongst all " professing godliness, and might have been in-" strumental, if not to have healed the breaches, vet to have kept the godly of all judgments " from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being over-run by a common enemy, render'd them and these nations, both " fecure, happy, and well fatisfied.

"ARE these things done? Or any thing to"wards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits
"of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy
"them, unless they can put their singers upon
their brethrens consciences, to pinch them there.
"To do this, was no part of the contest we had
"with the common adversary; for religion was

" not the thing at the first contested for; but "God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it in to us by way of Redundancy, and at last

" it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the

" bishops, to all species of protestants, to worship God according to their own light and consci-

" ence? For want of which, many of our bre-

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"thren for fook their native countries, to feek their bread from strangers, and to live in bow- in ling wildernesses; and for which also, many that remained here, were imprisoned, and otherwise abused, and made the scorn of the nation.

"THOSE that were found in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, to a just liberty, that men should not be tram-

" for a just liberty, that men should not be tram" pled upon for their consciences? Had not they
" laboured but lately under the weight of perse" cutions, and was it sit for them to sit heavy

" upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrify, than

" for those who were oppressed by the bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so

" foon as their yoke was removed? I could wish " that they, who call for liberty now also, had

" not too much of that spirit if the power were

" in their hands.

"As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, the contentious railers, evil fpeakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose conversations; punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because, if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the gospel and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, makes them subjects of the magistrates sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.

"THE discipline of the army was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these: And therefore how happy would England have been, and you, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled

1654

upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences, which was well provided of the government, and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil?

"Judge you, whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this government hath been profitable expence of time for the good of these nations? By means whereof, you may see you have wholly elapsed your time.

" may fee you have wholly elapfed your time, " and done just nothing. " I will fay this to you in behalf of the long ce parliament, that had fuch an expedient as this government been proposed to them, and that " they could have feen the cause of God thus " provided for, and had by debates been enlight-" ned in the grounds by which the difficulties " might have been cleared, and the reason of " the whole inforced, the circumstances of time " and persons, with the temper and disposition of " the people, and affairs both abroad and at home, when it was undertaken, well weighed (as well as they were thought to love their feats) "I think in my conscience that they would have co proceeded in another manner than you have done, and not have exposed things to those " difficulties and bazards they now are at, nor given occasion to leave the people so diffettled as " now they are, who, I dare say, in the soberest, " and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing things in pursu-" ance of the government; and, if I be not mifinformed, very many of you came up with " this satisfaction, having had time enough to " weigh and confider the same.

"AND when I say, such an expedient as this government is, wherein I dare affert there is a

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" just liberty to the people of God, and the just in rights of the people in these nations provided for, I can put the issue thereof upon the clear-in est reason, whatsoever any go about to suggest

" to the contrary.

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"But this not being the time and place of " fuch an averment, for fatisfaction fake herein, " enough is faid in a book, entituled, a true " fate of the case of the common-wealth, &c. pub-" lished in January 1653. (And for my felf, I " defire not to keep it an hour longer than I " may preserve England in its just rights, and " may protect the people of God in such a just " liberty of their consciences, as I have already " mentioned.) And therefore if this parliament " have judged things to be otherwise than as I " have stated them, it had been huge friendliness " between persons that had such a reciprocation, " and in so great concernments to the publick, " for them to have convinced me in what par-" ticulars therein my error lay, of which I never " yet had a word from you. But if instead there-" of, your time has been spent in seiting up some-" what elfe upon another bottom than this stands, "that looks as if a laying grounds of a quar-" rel had rather been designed, than to give the " people settlement; if it be thus, it's well your " labours have not arrived to any maturity cc at all.

"This government called you hither, the constitution whereof being so limited, a single person and a parliament, and this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the nation, having had experience enough by trial of other conclusions, judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, and yet not to found dominium in gratia. And if so,

1654. " then certainly to make it more than a notion? " it was requifite that it should be as it is in the co government, which puts it upon a true and equal ballance. It has been already submitted to the judicious honest people of this nation, whether the ballance be not equal, and what their judgment is, is visible by submission to it, by acting upon it, by restraining their trustees from medling with it; and it neither asks nor " needs any better ratification. But when trustees " in parliament shall by experience find any evil " in any parts of the government, referred by the confideration of the government it self to the consideration of the " Protector and Parliament (of which time it felf will be the best discoverer) how can it be reason-" ably imagined, that a person or persons com-" ing in by election, and standing-under such ob-" ligations, and fo limited, and fo necessitated by " oath to govern, for the people's good, and to " make their love, under God, the best under-" propping, and his best interest to him; how " can it, I say, be imagin'd, that the present or " fucceeding protectors will refuse to agree to al-" ter any fuch thing in the government that may " be found to be for the good of the people, or " to recede from any thing which he might be " convinced casts the ballance too much to the " fingle person? And although for the present, " the keeping up, and having in his power the " militia, seems the most hard, yet if it should " be yielded up at fuch a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this cause by it (which " is most evidently at this time impugned by all the enemies of it) as there was to get it, what " would become of all? Or if it should not be e-" qually placed in him and the parliament, but " yielded up at any time, it determines his power, " either for doing the good he ought, or hindering cc parliaments

from imposing what religions they please on the consciences of men, or what government they please upon the nation, thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof; and if the nation shall happen to fall into a blessed peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded, and then where will the danger be to have the militia thus stated?

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" WHAT if I should say, if there should be a " disproportion or disequality as to the power, it " is on the other hand? And if this be fo, where-" in have you had cause to quarrel? What de-" monstrations have you held forth to fettle me " to your opinion? Would you had made me fo " happy as to let me have known your grounds. " I have made a free and ingenuous confession of " my faith to you, and could have wished it " had been in your hearts to have agreed that " some friendly and cordial debates might have " been towards mutual conviction; was there " none amongst you to move such a thing? No " fitness to listen to it? No defire of a right un-" derstanding? If it be not folly in me to listen " to town-talk, such things have been proposed, " and rejected with stiffness and severity, once and " again; was it not likely to have been more ad-" vantagious to the good of this nation? I will " fay this to you for my felf, and to that I have " my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I " have my comfort and contentment in it, and I " have the witness of divers here, that I think " truly scorn to own me in a lye, that I would " not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the tak1654. " ing it off the foundation on which it stands, " viz. The acceptation and consent of the people.

"I will not presage what you have been about, or doing in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I undertook this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which in my conscience is dear to many of you (though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us, as to peace and settlement) so I can say that no particular interest, either of my self, estate, bonour, or family, are, or have been preva-

bonour, or family, are, or have been preva-" lent with me to this undertaking. " For if you had upon the old government offer'd to me this one thing; I speak, as thus " advised, and before God, as having been to this "day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many that " hear me speak; if this one thing had been " inserted, that one thing, that this government " should have been, and plac'd in my family " hereditary, I would have rejected it, * and " I could have done no other, according to my " present conscience and light. I will tell you my " reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities commitce ted to us.

"This hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way, well looking, that as God had declar'd

^{*} Ludlow observes here, that in this he flatter'd the ambition of major-general Lambert, and kept him in expectation of succeeding him, and so secur'd his affistance in carrying on his designs.

66 what

what government he had delivered to the Ferus, and placed it upon fuch persons as had been in-" ffrumental for the conduct and deliverance of " his people; and confidering that promise in " Isaiah, that God would give rulers as at the first, " and judges as at the beginning; I did not know, " but that God might begin, and though at pre-" fent with a most unworthy person, yet as to the " future, it might be after this manner, and I " thought this might usher it in. I am speaking " as to my judgment against making it hereditary, " to have men chosen for their love to God, and " to truth and justice, and not to have it beredi-" tary; for as it is in Ecclefiastes, who knoweth " whether he may beget a fool or wife, honest or " not? Whatever they be must come in upon " that account, because the government is made " a patrimony.

"AND this I do perhaps declare with too much earnestness, as being my own concernment, and know not what place it may have in your bearts, and of the good people in the nation; but however it be, I have comfort in

" this my truth and plainness.

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"I HAVE thus told you my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mock'd, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking, especially, when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty, that my own conscience gives me not the lye to what I say, and then in what I say I can rejoice.

"Now to speak a word or two to you, of that I must profess in the name of the same "Lord, and wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you, and though I have told you, that I came with joy

"the first time, with some regret the second, that now I speak with most regret of all.

"I LOOK upon you, as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for, I could, through the grace of
God, defire to lay down my life for you: So
far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you, in your particular capa-

" cities.
" I HAVE that indeed, as a work most incumbent upon me, I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this, casting up all considerations. I must consess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally this nation hath suffered extremely in the respects mentioned, as also in the disappointments of their expectations of that justice that was due to them by your sitting thus long; and what have you brought forth?

"I DID not, nor cannot apprehend what it is,
"(I would be loth to call it a fate, that were
"too paganish a word) but there is something
"in it that we have not over supplementations

in it, that we have not our expectations. " I DID think also for my self, that I am " like to meet with difficulties, and that this nac tion will not (as it is fit it thould not) be de-" luded with pretexts of necessity in that great " business of raising of money; and were it not " that I can make some dilemma's upon which " to refolve some things of my conscience, judge ment, and actions, I should sink at the very er prospect of my encounters; some of them are ce general, some are more special, supposing this cause, or this business must be carried on: Ei-" ther it is of God, or of man; if it be of man, " I would I had never touched it with a finger; " if I had not had a hope fix'd in me, that this " cause, and this business is of God, I would ce many

many years ago have run from it. If it be 1654. " of God, he will bear it up. If it be of man,

" it will tumble, as every thing that hath been of man, fince the World began, hath done.

"And what are all our bistories and other tra-

" ditions of actions in former times, but God ma-" nifesting himself that he hath shaken and tum-

" bled down, and trampled upon, every thing that

" he hath not planted? And as this is, so the

" all-wife God deal with it.

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" If this be of human structure and invention, and it be an old plotting and contrivance to

" bring things to this issue, and they are not

" the births of providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in Eng-

" land, and if he will do us good, he is able

" to bear us up: let the difficulties be whatsoe-

" ver they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I

" have been inured to difficulties, and I never

" found God failing when I trusted in him; I

" can laugh and fing in my heart when I speak

" of these things to you, or elsewhere. And

" though some may think it is an hard thing

" without parliamentary authority to raise money

" upon this nation; yet I have another argu" ment to the good people of this nation, if

" they would be fase, and have no better prin-

" ciple; whether they prefer the having of their

" will, tho' it be their destruction, rather than

comply with things of necessity; that will ex-

" try to suppose this.

"FOR I look at the people of these nations, as the blessing of the Lord, and they are a people blessed by God. They have been so, and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed, which hath been, and is among them,

Y 3 " those

"those regenerated ones in the land, of several judgments, who are all the flock of Christ and lambs of Christ, tho' perhaps under made in your unruly passions, and troubles of spirits, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others; yet they are not so to God, as to us; he is a God of other patience, and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his people, and the people being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry, but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when necessity calls for supplies; had they not been well acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of gospel-liberty.

"But if any man shall object, It is an easy thing to talk of necessities, when men create necessities; would not the lord protector make himself great, and his family great? doth not

" he make these necessities? and then he will

" come upon the people with this argument of

" necessity.

" This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make neces-" fities, whatfoever the judgments or thoughts " of men are. And I say this, not only to this " affembly, but to the world, that that man li-" veth not, that can come to me, and charge " me that I have in these great revolutions made " necessities; I challenge even all that fear God; " and as God hath faid, My glory I will not give unto another; let men take heed, and be twice " advis'd, how they call his revolutions, the " things of God, and his working of things " from one period to another, how, I fay, they " call them necessities of mens creation; for by " fo doing, they do vilify and leffen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he ec hath ral

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hath faid, be will not give unto another, nor " fuffer to be taken from him. We know what u " God did to Herod when he was applauded, and " did not acknowledge God; and God knoweth " what he will do with men, when they shall " call his revolutions human defigns, and fo de-" tract from his glory, when they have not been " forecast, but sudden providences in things, " whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged, " and under, and at which many, I fear (some " good) have murmured and repined, because " disappointed of their mistaken fancies; but still " they have been the wife disposings of the Al-" mighty, though instruments have had their " passions and frailties; and I think it is an ho-" nour to God to acknowledge the necessities to " have been of God's imposing, when truly they " have been so, as indeed they have, when we " take our fin in our actings to our felves; and " much more fafe, than to judge things so con-" tingent, as if there were not a God that ruled " upon earth.

"WE know the Lord hath poured this na"tion from vessel to vessel, till he poured it
into your lap, when you came first together:
"I am consident, that it came so into your
hands, was not judged by you to be from
counterseited or seign'd necessity, but by divine providence and dispensation. And this I
speak with more earnestness, because I speak
for God, and not for men; I would have
any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of
time, wherein God hath made these revolutions, and find where they can fix a seigned
necessity.

"I COULD recite particulars, if either my frength would ferve me to speak, or yours

Y 4

" to

"to hear; if that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man that fell off at any period of time when God had any work to do, that can give God or his work,

" at this day, a good word.

" IT was, fay fome, the cunning of the lord or protector (I take it to my self) it was the " craft of fuch a man, and his plot, that hath " brought it about. And as they fay in other countries, there are five or fix cunning men " in England that have skill, they do all these things; Oh what blasphemy is this! because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is " to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from "God, and to be spoken unto by the spirit of God, who speaks without a written word " fometimes, yet according to it: God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners, let him speak se as he pleaseth. Hath he not given us liberty? " Nay, is it not our duty to go to the law and to the testimonies, and there we shall find that there have been impressions in extraordi-" nary cases, as well without the written word " as with it; and therefore there is no diffe-" rence in the thing thus afferted from truths " generally receiv'd, except we will exclude the " Spirit, without whose concurrence all other " teachings are ineffectual. He doth speak to the " hearts and consciences of men, and leadeth " them to his law and testimonies, and there " he speaks to them, and so gives them double " teachings, according to that of Job, God speaket b once, yea twice; and that of David, God " hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this. Those men that live upon their Mumpsimus " and Sumpsimus, their Masses and Service-books,

"their dead and carnal worship, no marvel if they be strangers to God, and the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? we in this land have been otherwise instructed, even by the word, and works, and

" Spirit of God.

"To say that men bring forth these things, when God doth them, judge you if God will bear this. I wish that every sober heart, tho' he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and falls into the hands of the living God, by such blasphemies as these, according to the 10th of the Hebrews, If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin (It was spoken to the Jews, that having professed Christ apostatized from him) what then? nothing but a fearful falling into the hands of the living God.

"THEY that shall attribute to this or that per-" fon the contrivances and production of those " mighty things God hath wrought in the mide. " of us, and that they have not been the revo-" lutions of Christ himself, upon whose shoulders " the government is laid, they speak against God, " and they fall under his hand without a Medi-" ator; that is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus " Christ the glory of all his works in the world, " by which he rules kingdoms, and doth admi-" nister, and is the rod of his strength, we pro-" voke the Mediator; and he may fay, I'll leave " you to God, I'll not intercede for you, let " him tear you to pieces, I'll leave theé to fall " into God's hands, thou denieft me my fovereignty and power committed to me. I'll not f intercede nor mediate for thee, thou fallest in-

to the hands of the living God. Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, and fay, " this man is cunning, and politick, and fubtil, " take heed, again I fay, how you judge of " his revolutions, as the products of mens invencc tions.

" I MAY be thought to press too much upon this theme, but I pray God it may flick won your hearts and mine. The worldly " minded man knows nothing of this, but is a " ftranger to it; and because of this is his a-" theism and murmuring at instruments, yea, reof pining at God himself; and no wonder, confi-" dering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these " thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not

a owned by us.

" THERE is another necessity which you have " put upon us, and we have not fought; I apee peal to God, angels, and men, if I shall raise money according to the article in the government, which had power to call you hither, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the army, you have labour'd to overthrow the gowernment, and the army is now upon free quar-" ter, and you would never fo much as let me " hear a tittle from you concerning it; where " is the fault? Has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the nation? I hope this was not in your minds, I am not willing to judge fo; but this is the state unto which we are reduced; " By the defigns of some in the army, who are now in custody, it was design'd to get as many " of them as they could, through discontent for want of money, the army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences, to march for " England

England out of Scotland, and in discontent to 1654. " seize their general there, a faithful and honest man, that so another might head the ar-" my; and all this opportunity taken from your " delays; whether will this be a thing of feign-" ed necessity? What could it fignify but that " the army are in discontent already, and we'll " make them live upon stones, we'll make them " cast off their governours and discipline? What " can be faid to this? I list not to unsaddle my " felf, and put the fault upon others Backs; " whether it hath been for the good of England, " whilst men have been talking of this thing or " the other, and pretending liberty, and a many " good words, whether it hath been as it should " have been? I am confident you cannot think it has, the nation will not think fo. And if the " worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish-men, or the Lincolnshire-men " may think, or other counties, but I believe " they will all think they are not fafe. A temporary suspension of caring for the greatest liber-" ties and privileges (if it were fo, which is " denied) would not have been of that damage, " that the not providing against free quarter hath " run the nation upon. And if it be my liberty " to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a jour-" ney, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my " house is on fire. " I HAVE troubled you with a long speech, and

"I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some; but because this is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my self bound in my duty to God, and the people of these nations, to their safety and good in every respect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it it not for the profit of these nati-

ons,

1654. " ons, nor for common and publick good, for you " to continue here any longer; and therefore I " do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this

ce parliament."

CHAP. V.

From the dissolution of his second PAR-LIAMENT, to the meeting of his third PARLIAMENT.

HUS the protector in great displeasure, and in this upbraiding manner, parted with his fecond parliament; which as it increas'd the indignation of the republicans, so it gave great encouragement to the royalists, to go on with the defigns they had now on foot; so that both parties, for king and common-wealth, were in rage, and plots, and arms against him, though by Oliver's good policy and extraordinary intelligence, their defigns were crush'd before they Wildman's could bring them to any maturity. Major John Wildman, a noted common-wealth's-man, whom the protector had expell'd the house at the first opening of the fession, was seiz'd with a paper dictated by him, intitled, The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, E/9; and beginning thus: "Being satisfy'd in our " judgment and consciences of the present neces" sity to take up arms for the desence of our " native rights and freedoms, which are wholly " invaded and swallowed up in the pride and am-" bition of Oliver Cromwell, who calls himself

ce lord protector of England, who hath render'd " all Englishmen no better than his vassals, &c."

But

declaration.

But this man, contrary to the expectation of all 1654.

his friends, who thought of nothing but his death, was after a short imprisonment discharg'd and fet at full liberty. The protector at the fame time us'd all imaginable arts to fecure himfelf, and prevent a universal odium: He pav'd the fleet and army well, and discharg'd all officers whose fidelity he suspected; carry'd it very fair with the city of London, giving them the power of their own militia, under their old leader major-general Skippon, treating them and accepting of treats from them; eas'd the common people of fome customary burdens, and some part of their taxes; and us'd an indefatigable diligence and unbounded expence in procuring intelligence, and early crushing all designs against him. So that though his mother (who dy'd

this year, and was buried with extraordinary pomp and folemnity) was in continual fear of her fon's life, and when she heard any gun go off, would cry out that her fon was shot, and could not be easy without seeing him safe once or twice a day; and though a thousand of his enemies did really believe, that killing him would be no murder, yet he had the good fortune to escape all

dangers. THE Cavalier plot was still on foot, which Several the protector had a jealousy was countenanc'd by risings the parliament; and he gave out that to be a for the king. cause of his dissolving them. The project was, to have several parties rise together in several parts of the nation, about the beginning of March; and though upon the private intelligence the protector had receiv'd, several persons were apprehended, and many arms seiz'd, yet it was still resolved to attempt fomething. To this end, a Cartload of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where 'twas re-

ported

1654. ported the conspirators were to be headed by Wilmot earl of Rochester. But being somewhat alarm'd at their first meeting, and apprehensive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were fufficiently prepar'd, they dispers'd themselves, leaving their arms behind them. The defign was not so soon over in the west. where Sir Joseph Wag staff, colonel Penruddock, captain Hugh Grove, Mr. Jones and other perfons of condition, enter'd Salisbury with a body of two hundred horse well arm'd, expecting there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the affizes, and they came thither about five a clock in the morning; where having proclaim'd the king, they feiz'd the judges, Rolls and Nicolas, and took away their commissions. They also seiz'd the sheriss; and Wag flaff was for hanging all three of them; but others not agreeing to it, they were at last fet at liberty. Their forces not at all anfwering their first expectations, they retir'd to Dog-town, and from thence march'd as far as Blandford in Dorsetsbire, where most men look'd upon them as flying, several of their own party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those who continu'd with them, did so rather to secure themselves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of fuccess in their undertaking. Captain Unton Crook, having intelligence of their motions, pursu'd them into Devonshire, and at South-Molton fell upon them and totally defeated them: Most of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them Penruddock, Grove, and Jones; Wagfaff, Mason, and Mompesson narrowly escaping. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, and others were hang'd in that city; some of them were sent to Salisbury, the place where they had fo lately triumph'd, and

They are suppress'd. and there try'd and executed; and many were 1654. transported to the West-Indies. Thus these infurrections, which at first seem'd to threaten the whole kingdom, expir'd for the present, and the protector was fecur'd without the help of his

THIS plot, which was laid to ruin the protector, prov'd in the iffue of great advantage to him, advanc'd his credit, and ferv'd to confirm his authority the more. It clear'd him of the reproach of inventing plots himself for an excuse and pretence to continue fuch numerous forces in pay; and that little fuccess the king's party met with, was judg'd a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, The Rovwith the advice of his council, to make an or-alifts deder, "That all who had born arms for the cimated. " king, or had declar'd themselves to be of his coparty, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part " of their estates, to support the charge of such " extraordinary forces, as their turbulent and " feditions practices oblig'd him to keep up;" the protector declaring, That the charge should be laid upon those who had occasion'd it, and not upon the honest party, who had already been so much sufferers. Commissioners were appointed in every county for this purpose; and by this means incredible sums of money were brought into the protector's coffers. He likewise committed to prison many of those whom he suspected, as the earl of Oxford, the lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, and Compton; Littleton, Peyton, Packington, Albburnham, Russel, Legg, Philips, Halfey, and feveral others. He had also a very watchful eye over the republicans, and fifth-monarchy men, and gave Monk orders to seize major-general Overton, major Bramstone, Holms,

The protector appoints major-generals.

1654. and other officers. Overton was fent up to London and committed to the tower, and his regiment given to colonel Morgan, colonel Okey's to the lord Howard, and cornet Joyce, now colonel, was likewife cashier'd. And finally, to provide for all inconveniencies, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England, as 'twere, into fo many cantons, over each of which he plac'd one called by the name of majorgeneral; which major-generals were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all moneys which were order'd by his highness and his council to be collected for the publick, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the protector himself. Their names and several divisions were as follows: Colonel Kelfey was major-general for Kent and Surry; colonel Goffe for Suffer, Hampsbire, and Berksbire; colonel Desborough for Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwal; lieutenant general Fleetwood for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Effex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; major-general Skippon for the city of London; committary general Whaley for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbysbire, Warwicksbire, and Leicestersbire; major Butler for Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Rutland, and Huntingtonshire; colonel Berry for Worcestersbire, Herefordsbire, Shropsbire, and North-Wales; colonel Whortley for Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; major-general Lambert for Yorksbire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland,

moreland, and Northumberland; and colonel Barkflead for the city of Westminster, and Middlesex.

THESE major-generals carry'd things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleas'd, interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggriev'd, and threatening fuch as would not readily fubmit to their orders with transportation to the West-Indies. A certain farmer in Berksbire, being re- Story of a quir'd to pay his tenth, ask'd the commissioners, farmer of in case he did so, What security he should have Berksbire. for the other nine parts; and it being answer'd, That he should have the protector's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the rest; he reply'd, That he had already an act of parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give: But, said he, if Goodman such a one and such a one (naming two of his neighbours) will give me their bond for it, I know what to say to such a proposal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right my felf; but these sword-men are too strong for me.

ABOUT this time also, the protector having Of one laid some extraordinary tax upon the city, one cony, who cony, who had formerly served him in bringing pay taxes about his defigns, positively refus'd to pay his to cremshare, and vehemently diffuaded others from well. complying with it: Hereupon the protector fent for him, and put him in mind of the old friendship that had been beeween them, telling him, That of all men be did not expect this opposition from bim, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth. Cony in return remembered him, how great an enemy he had express'd himself to such grievances, and how he had declared, That all who submitted to pay illegal taxes, were greater enemies to their country than they who impos'd them; and that the tyranny of

princes

1655. princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people. When the protector faw he could not bring him over, he told him, That he had a Will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master; and thereupon committed him to prison. As foon as the term came on, the prisoner brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, then called the Upper-bench. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham being of counsel for him, demanded his liberty, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and of the imposition. The judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their fentence would be; so that the protector's attorney requir'd a farther day to answer what had been urg'd. - But before that time, the three who were his counsel were committed to the tower; and the judges were fent for and feverely reprimanded, for fuffering the liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledg'd the law and Magna Charta, the protector told them, Their Magna F-a should not controle his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth; and ask'd them, Who made them judges? And whether they had any authority to fet there but what he gave them; and therefore he advis'd them to be more tender of that which only could preserve them, and sent them away with this caution, That they should not suffer the lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to bear.

Of Sir Peworth.

AT another time, Sir Peter Wentworth, a ter Went- member of the long parliament, caus'd a collector in the country to be profecuted at his fuit, though he could scarce procure any attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him. The protector being inform'd of this profecution, fent a messenger to bring Sir Peter before the council; where

where being ask'd the reason of this proceeding, 1655. he told them, That he was mov'd to it by his constant principle, That by the law of England no money ought to be levy'd upon the people, without their consent in parliament. The protector then ask'd him, Whether he would withdraw his action or no; to which he reply'd, If you will command me, I must submit : Cromwell therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his action; and fo this matter ended.

But though the protector proceeded in this Many arbitrary manner against those who contested his things authority; yet in all other cases, where the life worthy of of his jurisdiction was not concern'd, he seem'd praise in the proto have a great reverence for the law, and the tector's constitution, rarely interposing between party and governparty; and to do him justice, there appear'd in ment. his government many things that were truly great and praise-worthy. Justice, as well distributive as commutative, was by him reftor'd almost to its ancient grace and splendor, the judges executing their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws, except some few, where himself was immediately concern'd, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Mens manners, outwardly at leaft, became likewise reform'd, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now reviv'd, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion were either banished, or severely rebuk'd. Trade began again to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The protector also shew'd a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of The university of Oxford, in particular, acknowledged his highness's respect to them, in conti-

1655. continuing their chancellor, and bestowing on the publick library there four and twenty Greek manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He also order'd a scheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at Durham, for the convenience of the northern students.

His dethe Jews.

ABOUT this time, a defign was form'd by the fign of re- protector, of fettling the Ferus again in this naadmitting tion; and Manasseb Ben-Israel, a great Rabbi, came over and made his stated proposals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exercise trade and worship in England. The protector, on this occasion, sent for divers ministers of the gospel, and laid those proposals before them; and at the same time with great " That fince earnestness declar'd his opinion, "there was a promise that they should be converted, means ought to be us'd to that end; and "the most likely way was, the preaching of the " gospel in truth and fincerity, as it was then " in England, devoid of all popish idolatry, which " had render'd the christian religion odious to " them." But the defign was fo violently opposed that this treaty came to nothing. 'Tis said the protector had the promise of 200000 L from the Jews, in case he procur'd this toleration for them; which made him so earnest to bring it about: But bishop Burnet informs us, that he enter'd into this treaty with them for the fake of intelligence. His words are thefe: "When he " understood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, " the advancing money upon high or low inte-" rest in proportion to the risque they run, or " the gain to be made as the times might turn, " and in the buying and felling of the actions of " money fo advanc'd, he, more upon that account, than in compliance with the principle ee of

" of toleration, brought a company of them o-

" ver to England, and gave them leave to build " a fynagogue. All the while that he was ne-

" gotiating this, they were fure and good spies

" for him, especially with relation to Spain and

" Portugal."

UPON this the bishop tells this story, which A story he had from the lord Brogbill, then earl of Or- on this rery: That as that earl was once walking with occasion. Cromwell in one of the galleries of Whitehall, a man almost in rags appear'd in view; upon which he immediately dismis'd the earl, and took that person with him into his closet; who told him of a great sum of money, that the Spaniards were fending over in a Dutch man of war, to pay their army in Flanders; and also whereabouts in the thip the faid money was reposited. The protector then immediately fent an express to Smith (afterwards Sir Jeremy Smith) who lay in the Downs, informing him, "That within a day " or two fuch a Dutch ship would pass the Chan-" nel, which he must fearch for the Spanish money, " which was contraband goods;" his highness being then at war with Spain. Accordingly, when the ship pass'd by Dover, Smith sent and The Dutch demanded leave to fearch him. captain return'd him this answer, That none but his masters might search him: Upon which, Smith fent him word again, That he had fet up an hourglass, and if he did not submit to the search before it was run out, he would force him. The captain feeing it was in vain to ftruggle, submitted in time, and so all the money was found. And the next time his highness saw the lord Orrery, he told him, he had his intelligence from that feemingly forlorn man he faw him go to fome days before.

THE lords commissioners of the great seal, He makes were Sir Thomas Widdrington, Whitelock, and in his mi-Z 3 Lifle; niftry.

1655. Liste; and William Lenthal, Esq; was master of the Rolls. Widdrington, Whitelock and Lenthal made their exceptions against executing an ordinance of the lord protector and his council, For the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the high court of Chancery: Upon which his highness, not enduring his authority or his acts should be disputed, sent for them to the council-chamber, and there requir'd them to lay down the feal and withdraw. He kept it a few days in his own hands, and then gave it to major Lifle, one of the former commissioners, and colonel Fiennes. And that Widdrington and Whitelock, the ejected commissioners, might not be too much difgusted, his highness appointed them commisfioners of the treasury; and he continued Lenthal in his favour for past services.

Appoints a committee of trade.

ABOUT this time the lord protector and his council appointed a committee of trade, to confider how to improve, order and regulate the trade and navigation of the common-wealth. This was an affair of great importance to the nation, and his highness was very earnest and in-

tent upon it.

As the protector's power was very great at home, so his influence was no less considerable abroad. About this time an ambassador extraordinary from Sweden came over in great pomp and state, and with much ceremony and solemnity had his audience of his highness in the Banquetting-house at White-hall. The ambassador spake in the Swedish language, and his secretary interpreted what he said in Latin. When he had done, the lord protector stood still for some time, and then putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answer'd him in English as follows:

His anfwer to the swediff ambaffador.

"My lord ambaffador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects

cc and

" and good affection of the king your master to- 1655. " wards this common-wealth, and towards myself \(\square\) " in particular; whereof I shall always retain a " very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon " all occasions to manifest the high sense and va-" lue I have of his majesty's friendship and alli-" ance. My lord, you are very welcome into " England; and during your abode here, you " shall find all due regard and respect to be gi-" ven to your person, and to the business about " which you come. I am very willing to enter " into a nearer and more strict alliance and friend-" ship with the king of Swedeland, as that which " in my judgment will tend much to the honour " and commodity of both nations, and to the " general advantage of the protestant interest. I " shall nominate some persons, to meet and treat " with your lordship upon such particulars as you " shall communicate to them."

CHRISTINA, queen of Sweden, having abdicated her kingdom upon changing her religion and turning Papist, resolv'd to go to Rome, and to fee as much as she could in her way thither; and the renown of Cromwell made her very defirous to fee him. Accordingly she sent her secretary Maldeschi, an Italian, from Fontainbleau in France to London, to procure an invitation from the protector, who receiv'd the secretary with such marks of respect, as made him hope he should succeed in his errand. He often hinted, that her majesty would be extremely pleas'd to fee so illustrious a captain. Cromwell gave him the hearing, but would not understand his meaning: He return'd compliment for compliment; and the fecretary foon understood, that the protector had no mind to receive a visit from the queen. And indeed he had three reasons against inviting her; the expence of her stay here, L 4

his resentment of her apostacy, and the ill exam-1655. ple of her conversation, which was too gallant

and intriguing for a Puritan court.

Is in fufpence whether to join with France or Spain.

THE protector's greatest difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which fide to chuse, France or Spain. The latter offer'd, that if his highness would join with them, they would engage themselves to make no peace, till he should recover Calais again to the English. The protector was very well pleas'd with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to restore that town again to the English empire, after it had been a hundred years posses'd by the French. Cardinal Mazarine having intelligence of this offer made by the Spaniards, that he might outbid them, promis'd, in case the protector would join with France, to affift him in taking of Dunkirk, Inclines to a place of much more importance. His highness was still for some time in suspence, but that which inclin'd him very much to join with France, was this; he saw that if France should affift the king or his brother with an army of Hugonots, to make a descent into England (which was threaten'd if he join'd with Spain) this might be of very dangerous consequence to him who had so many enemies at home, and fo few friends; whereas the Spaniards could give those princes

no strength, nor had they any protestant subjects to affift them in such an enterprize. This confideration made a great impression on him; and whilst he was casting in his mind, what was fit to be done, one Gage, formerly a prieft, came over from the West-Indies, and gave him such a relation of the weakness, as well as of the riches of the Spaniards in those parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and easy conquest, to seize on their dominions there. By this he hop'd to supply himself with such a

treasure,

the former.

treasure, that his government would be esta- 1655. blish'd, before he should need to have any recourse to a parliament for money. And as the Spaniards would never admit of a peace with England between the tropicks, he was in a state of war with them as to those parts, even before he declar'd war against them in Europe. Upon Sets out a this, he prepar'd a fleet, with a force sufficient, fleet for as he thought, to have feiz'd Hispaniola and Cuba; Gage having affur'd him, that success in that expedition would foon make him master of all the rest. When the time of setting out this fleet came on, all men wonder'd whither it should be defign'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehension occafion'd a fortification to be drawn round it: others talk'd of Rome itself; for the protector's preachers often gave out, That if it were not for the divisions at home, he would go and fack Babylon. Others thought the defign was against Cadiz, though he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the fecret; and the protector not having finish'd his alliance with them, was not oblig'd to impart to them the reason of his preparations. All he said about it was this, That he fent out the fleet to guard the feas, and to restore England to its dominion on that element.

This fleet confifting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Penn, with about four thousand land-foldiers, to be commanded by Venables, fet fail in the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were order'd to break open their commissions. Being fafely arriv'd there, and new men taken in to encrease the land-army, Which they fail'd to the island of Hispaniola. Coming within about the middle of April before Santto Dominga, with ill

the fuccess.

1655. the chief port of that country, Venables landed

his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had receiv'd from the lord protector, and march'd them thro' fuch thick woods and uneafy passages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal number, beat them back. After this they advanc'd again towards the town, taking Negroes for their guides, who led them into an ambufcade; so that they were again shamefully repuls'd to the bay where they landed, with the loss of major-general Haines, and above fix hundred men. They were foon forc'd to re-imbark; and then, to make some amends for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island But takes of Jamaica, and obtain'd an easy possession of it; which island has ever fince remain'd in the hands of the English: Where leaving a good body of foot to fecure it, they fail'd back to England. The lord protector was never fo much diffurb'd as at this disafter at Hispaniola; so that Penn and Venables were no fooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevail'd on to trust either of them again.

Famaica.

Blake's fuccess in the Mediterranean.

ABOUT the time that Penn and Venables fet out on this unfortunate expedition, admiral Blake sail'd with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to fcour those seas of the Turkish pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolv'd to seek them out in their ports. He came first before Algiers, and sending to the Dev demanded that all the English ships might be restor'd, and all the English slaves releas'd. The Dey hereupon sent a rich present to Blake, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, "That the ships and captives al-" ready taken belong'd to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they " should

" should be restor'd at a moderate ransom; and 1655. " if the admiral thought good, they would con-" clude a peace, and for the future offer no als " of violence to any of the English ships and " natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake fail'd from thence to Tunis, where, having made the same demand as at Algiers, inflead of the like submission, he receiv'd this refolute answer, " That there were their castles " of Goletta, and their ships and castles of Porto-" Ferino; he might do his worst, for he should " not think to fright them with the fight of " his fleet." Provok'd at this answer, Blake refolv'd to destroy their ships in Porto-Ferino. Accordingly they man'd their long-boats with flout feamen, and fent them into the harbour to fire those ships, whilst the admiral himself with all his fleet thunder'd most furiously with his cannon against their castles. The seamen, in the mean time, fo bravely perform'd their parts, that all the nine Turkish ships of war were soon reduc'd to ashes, with the loss of only twenty five men, and forty eight wounded, on the English fide. These were actions of the highest conduct and courage, which made the English name very formidable in those seas.

THERE was another reason of Blake's sailing into the Mediterranean, which was, to demand satisfaction of all princes and states, that had molested the English in the time of war and consusion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he sail'd to Leghorn, and dispatch'd his secretary to demand of the great duke of Tuscany 60000 l. for damages sustain'd by the English in his dutchy; prince Rupert having taken and sold as many English ships, as amounted to that value, to the great duke's subjects. The said duke was willing to pay part of the sum,

1655. and defir'd time to confult the pope about the rest. Blake said the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole fum, which was paid him, 35000 Spanish, and 25000 Italian The duke pretended that the pope Piftoles. ought to pay part of the damage, some of the ships having been fold to his subjects; accordingly the next succeeding pope repaid the great duke 20000 pistoles. General Blake sent home fixteen ships laden with the effects he had receiv'd from several states for satisfaction and damages, and they were ordered to fail up the Thames together, for a pleafing spectacle to the people.

THE king of Spain, provok'd at the late attempt upon his dominions in the West-Indies,

declar'd war against England; and the protector on the other hand dispatch'd orders to admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spanish plate-

fleet, and make what destruction he could upon concludes the coasts of Spain; and thought fit now to finish ance with his alliance with France, sending Lockhart his

ambassador thither for that end. His highness undertook to fend over an army of 6000 foot; and when the forts in Dunkirk and Mardyke should be taken, they were to be put into his

hands: And the French king likewise oblig'd himfelf by this treaty not to permit king Charles,

nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the queen mother, to remain

in any part of his dominions.

1656. Cromwell in favour broad.

The protector

his alli-

France.

ABOUT this time, the protector had two fig-Two great nal occasions given him, to exercise his charity, actions of and display his power, and shew his zeal in protesting the Protestants abroad. The duke of Saof the Pro. voy rais'd a new persecution of the Vaudois, crutestants a- elly murdering and massacring many of them, and driving the rest from their dwellings into the

mountains.

mountains. Upon this the protector fent to Ma- 1656. zarine, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, That he knew well they had the duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he must presently break with them. The cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: He promis'd to do good offices; but faid, he could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would fatisfy the protector, till they oblig'd the duke of Savoy to restore all he had unjustly taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose also he wrote to the duke of Savoy himself, though he had otherwise no concern with him. But the Title of Royal Highness being by mistake omitted on the letter, the major part of the council of Savoy was for returning it back unopened; but the Marquis de Pianezza representing to them, that Gromwell was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront; that he would certainly lay Villa Franca in ashes, and set the Swis protestant Cantons upon Savoy; the letter was read; which, together with the cardinal's influence. had the defir'd fuccefs. The lord protector also rais'd a great fum of money for the Vaudois, and fent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.

The other instance was this: There happened a tumult at Nismes, in which the Hugonots had committed some disorder; who being apprehensive of very severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great secresy and expedition to the lord protector Cromwell, to defire his interposition and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his highness having receiv'd the whole account, bad him, "Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would

take

1656. " take such care of his business, that by the time " he came to Paris, he should find it dispatch'd." Accordingly, that night he dispatch'd an agent with a letter to the cardinal, and one inclos'd for the king. The letter to the cardinal was in Latin; to which he added this postscript in French with his own hand; Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des babitants de Nismes. Te recommande a votre eminence les interets des reformez. "I " have heard of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your eminence the interests of " the reformed." He also fent instructions to his ambassador Lockbart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. The cardinal complain'd of this way of proceeding; but the neceffity of their affairs made him comply. These things rais'd the protector's character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on.

His conterence with the lord Brogbill.

THE lord Brogbill, who was one of the protector's cabinet counsellors, was sent for from Ireland to go to Scotland, and be prefident of the council there; but he was foon weary of the place, though he had a falary of 2000 1. per Annum. Upon his return to London, Oliver told him, There's a great friend of yours in town. Brogbill asking who? Cromwell faid, The lord Ormond: He came to town such a day, and is at fuch a place, naming it Brogbill said, he knew nothing of it: But the protector bad him fend Ormand word that he knew where he was. The lord Brogbill went himself, and told him what Cromwell had faid; upon which the marquess made haste away: But his lady's papers were feiz'd on, who entreated lord Brogbill to intercede for her. As foon as Cromwell faw him, he faid with some passion, You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine person! The lady

lady Ormond is conspiring with her husband a- 1616. gainst me; and by your procurement, I have allow'd her 2000 1. a year of the marquess's estate, because they are sufferers in Ireland. She's a wicked woman, and shall not have a farthing of it. The lord Broghill feeing him angry, returned a fost answer, which seldom fail'd to pacify him; and humbly defir'd to know what grounds be bad for so severe a censure. Grounds enough, reply'd the protector, There, read it (giving him a letter) 'tis her own hand. Lord Broghill looking upon it, said, It was not lady Ormond's band, but the lady Isabella Thynn's, between whom and the marquess there had been an intrigue. How will you prove it? faid Cromwell. Eafily, reply'd the other, for I have some letters of that lady's by me; which being shewn to the protector, he was fatisfy'd.

HAVING mention'd this instance of intelligence of lord Ormond's being in town, it may be proper enough to insert here what bishop Burnet says of Cromwell's using Sir Richard Willis for a spy. "Oliver, fays he, understood that one Sir Ri-" chard Willis, was chancellor Hyde's chief con-" fident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom " all the party submitted. So he found a way to talk with him: He said, He did not intend to burt any of the party, his design was rather to save them from ruin: They were apt, after their cups, to run into foolish plots, which sigic nify'd nothing but to ruin those who were engaee ged in them: He knew they consulted him in every thing. All he desir'd of him was to know " those plots, that he might so disconcert them that " none might suffer for them. If he clapt any of them " up in prison, it should be only for a little time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business ce they

1656.

" they had engag'd in. He offer'd Willis what " ever he would accept of, and to give it when " or as he pleas'd." They struck up a bargain, and none was trufted with this but his fecretary Thurloe, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence. Thus Cromwell had all the king's party in a net: And the bishop tells us, he knew every thing that pass'd in the king's little court, and yet not one of his spies was discovered but Manning, who was shot to death in the

territories of the duke of Newburgh.

THE protector having concluded the treaty with France, refolv'd now on a vigorous profecution of the war with Spain. For this purpose, admiral Blake, and Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, were order'd with a strong navy to block up the port of Cadiz. Here they lay feveral weeks, but could not provoke the enemy to come out and fight, 'till want of water and other necessaries oblig'd them to sail to Wyers-Bay in Portugal for fresh supplies; captain Stayner, in the mean time, being left behind with feven ships; who, whilst the commanders were gone to the foremention'd place, espy'd the Spanish plate-fleet making directly for Cadiz, and refolv'd to fall upon it; which, with the Speaker, Bridgewater, and Plymouth frigats, whilst the rest were behind, he so bravely perform'd, that in a few hours the whole fleet was quite spoil'd. One ship was funk, another burnt, in which the marquess of Bajadox, vice-roy of Mexico, with his lady and eldest daughter, perish'd in the flames; two were forc'd on ground, one run away, and two remain'd in the conquerors hands; which being brought to Portsmouth, the bullion, to the value of above two millions, was there landed, and convey'd in carts to London, as a trophy and triumph of war. THE

The Stanif plateflest deftroy'd by the Eng. lif.

THE protector being now in the height of his glory, resolv'd to call a parliament; to which it is thought by some he could have no other mo- A parliative or inducement, than to make a party for a folv'd on. crown, and get the title of KING conferr'd on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for as to the power of a king, he was really more formidable than any of the English monarchs ever were. But others think the necessary expences of the Spanish war was the main occasion of it. Whatever his design was, a parliament was to be summon'd, and writs were issued throughout the three nations for election of members for that purpose; in which all endeavours were us'd to hinder those from being chosen, who were most likely to obstruct the protector's designs: For this reason the president Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, lieutenant-general Ludlow and others were fummon'd before the council; and after consultation, upon their refusing to give security not to act against the government, Sir Henry Vane was fent prisoner to Carisbrook castle, Ludlow was order'd to be taken into custody; and Bradshaw, though permitted to go his circuit, as chief justice of Chester, had letters sent after him to deter persons from giving their votes for him.

HAVING mention'd lieutenant-general Lud- The prolow's being taken into custody, I shall conclude testor's this chapter with an account of what pass'd be-discourse tween him and the protector at the council-table, with Ludas previous thereunto. When he appear'd before councilthe council according to fummons, his highness table. charg'd him with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them about new models of government. Ludlow confess'd, he had caus'd some papers to be

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dispers'd

1656. dispers'd in Ireland, but said they could not just-V ly be call'd treasonable; and that though he knew not it was a crime to debate concerning forms of government, yet, to the best of his remembrance, he had not lately done any such The protector then told him, he was not ignorant of the many plots that were carrying on to diffurb the prefent power; and he thought it his duty to fecure fuch as he suspected. which Ludlow reply'd, that there were two duties requir'd by God of the magistrate, viz. To be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; and whether his actions were good or bad, he was ready to submit to a legal trial: That he knew no other way to fecure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate, but by both doing what is just and good. You do well, faid the protector, to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresce and prevent danger; and had I done as I should, I had secur'd you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desir'd to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival: And therefore I now require you to give assurance not to all against the The lieutenant-general defir'd to be government. excus'd as to that, remembring him of the reatons he had formerly given for his refusal; and added, that he was in his power, and he might use him as he thought fit. Pray then, said Cromwell, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have? It were easy, answered Ludlow, to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray? reply'd the protector. That which we fought for, said Ludlow, That the nation might

might be governed by its own consent. I am, faid 1656. the other, as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? among ft the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptift, or levelling parties? To which Ludlow answer'd, Among A those of all forts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick. The protector then fell to commending the prefent government, extolling the protection and quiet which the people enjoy'd under it; and faid, he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbru'd in blood. Ludlow said, He thought too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. You do well, reply'd the protector, to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what bath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniards and those of your party, who made use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and affift them. Ludlow told him, he knew not what he meant by bis party, and he could truly fay, that if any had enter'd into an engagement with Spain, they had had no advice from him so to do; and if they would use his name, he could not help it. His highness then in a softer way, told him, That he defir'd not to put any more hardships on him than on himself, that he had been always ready to do him all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aim'd at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and security. Truly, Sir, faid the other, I know not why you should be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your Difficulties. Upon which the protector said, I understand not what you mean by my difficulties: I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the publick; for in respect to my outward condition, I have not much improved Aa2

proved it, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know. To this they appear'd to affent, by rifing from their feats; and therefore Ludlow (as he tells us) thought fit not to infift farther on that point; but contented himself to fay, that it was from that duty which he owed to the publick, whereof the protector expres'd so great a regard, that he durst not give the security he desir'd; apprehending it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to law: For proof of which he produc'd an act of parliament, " For reftraining the council from im-" prisoning any of the freeborn people of Eng-" land; and if they should do so, requiring the " justices of the Upper Bench, upon the applica-" tion of the aggrieved party, to grant his ba-" beas corpus, and give him confiderable da-" mages." But, said the protector, did not the army and council of state commit persons to prison? To this Ludlow answer'd, that the council of state did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament; and if the army had fometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial. A justice of peace, said Cromwell, may commit, and shall not I? Ludlow told him, a justice of peace was a legal officer, and authoriz'd by the law to do fo; which he could not be though he were king, because if he did wrong therein, no remedy could be had against him. Therefore, said he, if I have offended against the law, I desire to be referred to a justice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a restraint, that then I may have my liberty. Upon this, he was order'd to withdraw; and major-general Lambert advis'd, that he might be peremptorily requir'd to give the

the security demanded: But the protector said, That the air of Ireland was good, that he had a ' house there, and therefore he thought it best to send bim thither. In the end, the lieutenant-general refolutely refusing to give the faid security, was order'd to be taken into custody, as before related.

CHAP. VI.

From the meeting of his third PARLIA-MENT, to his being confirm'd PROTEC-TOR, by the humble petition and advice.

ON the 17th day of September, the new The oparliament met his highness the lord pro- pening of tector in Westminster-Abby; where Dr. John Cromwell's Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, preach'd a fer-third parmon on these words in Isaiah, What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the lord bath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it. This being over, the protector with the members went to the paintedchamber, where he made a short speech to them, and then dismiss'd them to their house: But here they found a guard plac'd, and none were fuffer'd to enter but fuch as had certificates given them, in this form, These are to certify, that A. B. is return'd by indenture one of the members to serve in this present parliament, for -- and approv'd by his highness's council. By this means near a hundred members were excluded, who thereup- petition on presented a petition to the sitting members, de- and reclaring, "That being chosen by the country to mon-"ferve with them, they were ready to discharge the ex-their duty; but were prevented from doing so cluded

" by members.

1656.

" by the power of the fword, and refus'd ad-" mittance into the house by a guard of foldiers." Upon this, a committee being fent to the protector and his council, return'd with this answer, "That if the persons complaining would apply "themselves to them, they should be reliev'd if there was cause." The excluded members therefore feeing no redress, appeal'd to the people in a severe remonstrance, or protestation, complaining, " That the lord protector had by " force of arms invaded their fundamental right and liberty, and violently prevented the meet-" ing of the people's chosen deputies in parlia-" ment; and concluding with an appeal to God " and all the good people of England for affift-" ance and protection in their fervice, &c."

The parliament's proceedings and acts.

THE fitting members made choice of Sir Thomas Widdrington for their speaker; and 'twas foon perceiv'd that they were dispos'd to act according to the protector's mind. On the first of October they refolv'd, " That the war against the Spaniards was undertaken upon just and " necessary grounds, and for the good of the peo-" ple of the commonwealth; and that the par-" liament doth approve thereof, and will by "God's bleffing affift his highness therein." They then proceeded to pass several acts; as 1. " An act that paffing of Bills should not deter-" mine this present session of parliament. 2. An " act for renouncing and difannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart. 3. An act for fe-" curity of his highness the lord protector his " person, and continuance of the nation in peace and fafety; whereby 'twas made high-treason " to attempt, compais, or imagine the death of " the protector. 4. An act for taking away the court of Wards and Liveries. 5. An act for the exportation of feveral commodities of the breed

" breed, growth and manufacture of this com-" monwealth." And farther, to make good what they had refolv'd, great fums of money were granted to carry on the Spanish war. For this purpose, an act was pass'd, " For an affest-" ment of 60000 1. a month, for three months " upon England; another for 5000 l. a month for " the same time, on Scotland; and the same on " Ireland." There was also another act pass'd, " For 30000 l. a month for England, 6000 l. a " month for Scotland, and 9000 l. a month for " Ireland, to be paid for three whole years next " ensuing." Another, " For continuing of ton-nage and poundage." And another (which was the revival of an old act) "For preventing " multiplicity of buildings in and about the Su-" burbs of London, and within ten miles thereof; " a whole year's revenue to be presently paid for " all houses which had been built upon new " foundations since the year 1620."

THESE bills, with feveral others, were at feveral times pass'd by the protector, coming in state as a sovereign to the Painted-chamber. And when the money bills with some others were pass'd, he made this short speech to the speaker: " I perceive, that among these many acts of par- The pro-

" liament, there hath been a very great care had fpeech to by the parliament, to provide for the just and them at " necessary support of the commonwealth, by his passing

" these bills for levying of money now brought of bills. " to me, which I have given my consent unto:

" And understanding it hath been the practice

" of those who have been chief governours, to " acknowledge with thanks to the commons, their

" care and regard of the publick, I do very

" heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kind-

" ness herein."

The major-generals put down.

THE parliament had not fat two months when the exorbitant power of the major-generals came under confideration. The protector had hitherto given them good words; but fearing they might in time eclipse his own greatness, he was now for suppressing their authority. And so Mr. Cleypole his fon-in-law stood up (which was an unusual thing with him) and told the house, "That " he could but start the game, and must leave " those who had more experience, to follow " the chace; and therefore should only fay, that " he had formerly thought it necessary, in re-" fpect to the condition in which the nation had " been, that the major-generals should be entrusted with the authority they had exercis'd; but " in the present state of affairs, he conceiv'd it " inconfistent with the laws of England and li-" berties of the people, to continue their power any longer." This motion was a clear direction to the court party in the house; who being well affur'd, that Cleypole had deliver'd the fense, if not the very words of the protector therein, join'd as one man in opposing and abolishing the power of these major-generals.

Account of Fames Naylor.

ABOUT this time, one James Naylor, a late foldier under general Lambert, took upon him to personate our Saviour, resembling his picture in his garb, hair, and looks. He went about with disciples, and women ministring unto him, and enter'd the city of Bristol riding upon an ass, his followers strewing his way with leaves and boughs of trees, and crying, Hosanna, blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord. He also pretended he could heal the sick, raise the dead, and sast forty days, and gave no other answer to any question, but, Thou hast said it. The magistrates of Bristol sent him up to the parliament, who resolv'd, "That James Naylor was guilty of horrid

" blasphemy, and a great seducer of the people;" and instead of sending him to Bedlam, which would have been the properest place for him, they ordered the speaker to pronounce this severe sentence against him, viz. "To stand in " the pillory for two hours at Westminster; to " be whipp'd by the hangman from Westminster " to the Old Exchange, and there to stand in " the pillory two hours more; his tongue to be " bored through with a hot iron, and his fore-" head stigmatiz'd with the letter B; to be af-" terwards fent to Briftol, and convey'd through " the city on a horse bare-back'd, and his face " backward, and his body whipp'd in the mar-" ket-place: To be brought back to London, and " committed to prison in Bridewell, and there " to be kept from all company, and to have no " relief, but what he should earn from hard la-" bour; and being debarr'd the use of pen, ink " and paper, to be kept to continual work, till " he should be discharg'd by the parliament." Whitelock fays, many thought he was too furioufly profecuted by fome rigid men. And we must observe likewise, that the above account, which is the most usual, that is given of his herefies and blasphemies, is denied by the body of Quakers, who represent him as a plain man, of great zeal, and no great capacity.

ABOUT this time, there was a new discove-synder-ry made of a desperate plot against the protector's comb's person; which made the acts pass'd for his security be judg'd highly seasonable. Miles Synder-comb, a Leveller, having been cashier'd in Scotland, combin'd with one Cecil and one Troop, of his highness's life-guard, to assaffinate the protector near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-Court. Syndercomb, being betray'd by the other conspirators, stoutly deny'd the plot, but was

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1656. condemn'd upon the statute of 25 Edw. III. the chief justice Glynn declaring it treason in case of a protector, as well as a king, fince by the word king any chief magistrate was understood. The prisoner was found dead, when the day appointed for his execution came; whereupon his body was dragg'd naked by a horse's tail to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and there bury'd, with a stake driven through it. The protector was very much difturb'd at this accident; for instead of bringing this man to make some useful discovery to him, which he expected, he found himself under the reproach of causing him to be poison'd, as being afraid to bring him to publick justice. However, a day of publick thanksgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance; when, after a fermon at St. Margaret's Westminster, his highness treated the speaker and members in the Banquettingbouse at Whitehall, with more than ordinary marks of endearment.

> On the 6th of February there was a great meeting of learned men at Whitelock's house at Chelsea, pursuant to this order of parliament: Ordered, " That it be referr'd to a committee " to fend for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr.

> Hughes, Mr. Caftle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulk, " Dr. Cudworth, and fuch as they shall think

> " fit, and to confider of the translations and impressions of the bible, and to offer their opi-

> " nions therein." And about a Week after,

Dr. Walton publish'd the Polyglot bible.

THE parliament had fat about fix months, Design of when the debate came on in the house about changing Cromwell's title of Protector into that of King. A new instrument was drawn up, and read in the house, having a blank left for the title of the fingle person, and two other blanks for two houses of parliament. This was brought

1657. making Cronswell king.

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in by Mr. Pack, a rich alderman of London, who was suppos'd to be very much in the court interest; and when it came to be debated, 'twas sharply oppos'd by the foldiers party in the house; who joining with the Republicans, fell so furiously upon Pack for his prefumption and unparliamentary proceeding, that they bore him down from the speaker's chair to the bar of the house. But this heat lasted not long; for the lord Brogbill, chief justice Glynn, and others who were privy to the main design, alledging, "That be-" ing mafters of their own resolutions, they " might retain as much of this new form as was " good, and reject what was otherwise;" they by this means brought it to be debated: And tho' they met with some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew fo bold as to move, " That the blank left for the infertion of the The par-"title of the chief magistrate might be fill'd up liament wote him with the name of King:" Which motion, the title. tho' very much oppos'd by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was likewise carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houses, with the words, House of Commons, and, Other House.

This done, on the 4th of April they pre- And offer fented this writing to the lord protector, which it to him. was stil'd, The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland to his highness; at which time, the speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington, made a speech to him, recommending the title and office of a King, as settled here with Christianity it self, approved and retain'd by our ancestors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England. The protector, however inclinable he was to ac- He decept of this offer, yet finding it to be against murs up.

the on it.

1657. the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his fon-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Desborough were particularly averse to it, instead of a ready affent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he defir'd, " That a committee might be ap-

pointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and satisfaction in this great cause.

A compointed to fatisfy him.

A COMMITTEE was accordingly appointed, mittee ap- which on April 11. met him in the Paintedchamber. Whitelock was chair-man, and the chief speakers besides him were, the lord Brogbill, chief justice St. John, chief justice Glynn, the lords commissioners Fiennes and Liste, Lenthal master of the Rolls, Sir Charles Wolsley, Sir Richard Onflow, and colonel Jones. These for two distinct days successively entertain'd the protector with long speeches, endeavouring to perfuade him to accept of the title of King, which the parliament had offer'd him. Their arguments were principally these: " That the name " of a Protector, as he held it, was unknown to " the English constitution; but the title of KING " had the only foundation in the ancient and known " laws of the nation, was interwoven with our

" laws, and fuited to the genius of the people : "That it was the head from whence all the

" nerves and finews of the government proceeded; " and if a new head was put on, it was a que-

" ftion, whether those nerves and finews would " grow and receive nourishment: That for him to

" take up the office of King, without the title, was to take it up with all the objections of

ce scandal: That the king, the laws of the na-

" tion, the liberties of the people, and also par-" liaments themselves, had but one foundation,

" and that the end of the late war was not to

destroy King skip, as appear'd by fix or seven

of the parliament's declarations, one of which 1657. " was order'd to be read in all churches." His highness answer'd, " That these arguments " were cogent, but not satisfactory; that the " title of Protector might be adapted to the " laws; that providence was against them, that " had already alter'd the name; and that he " were much to be blamed, if he should dis-" please so many pious and religious men, who " would take offence at such a proceeding." The committee reply'd, " That the title " ought to be accommodated to the laws, and " not the laws to the title: That the innova-" tion of title was suspected, as being the cover " of hidden tyranny; and that the inconvenien-" cies of such change were not presently felt; " for which very reason, it was by the parlia-" ment deny'd to king James, when he came " first to this kingdom, to change the title of " king of England and Scotland, into that of " Great Britain: That by refusing the title of " King, he would not so much derogate from " his own honour, as from the nation's, for " whose honour it was to have a King for the " fupreme governour: That under the name of " Protector was never defign'd the supreme mo-" derator, but a temporary officer for guarding " the king in his minority, and administring of " the kingdom; and that generally such had " been unfortunate: That that appellation ha-" ving at this time sprung from the soldiers, sa-" vour'd of conquest, and might with very good " reason be rescinded by the parliament. " without the title of king the government " would be unstable and flitting, and would not " long stand, being on a tottering foundation; " as it had been chang'd three or four times in " these five years, and did still fluctuate: That " this

1657.

" this had been the great encouragement of " those attempts against his person, that the as law did not take notice of him as chief ma-" giftrate; and that juries were generally backward in finding any guilty of treason upon that " account: But by the laws made in Edward " IV. and Henry VII's time, whatever was " done by a king in possession, was good and va-" lid, and all that ferv'd under him were fafe " and exempt from punishment. By those laws " his enemies had hitherto pleaded indemnity, " but by his affuming what was defir'd, those " laws they pretended for their disobedience, would tie them, even by their own principles, " to obedience. That tho' part of the long par-" liament had taken away King ship, yet now it " was fet up again by a fuller representative of " three nations; and fince the parliament of " England, Scotland and Ireland, had advis'd and defir'd him to take upon him the title of King, " he ought not in reason and equity to refuse it. "That providence was no less conspicuous in " turning the government again into monarchy, " for avoiding confusion, and bridling the tumults of the people, than in changing the " name of Monarchy into Protestorship: And " that good and pious men would acquiesce in " the decree of the parliament, altho' perhaps " they might feem privately to differ." In the end, his highness gratefully acknowledg'd the kindness of the offer, but would not give a prefent answer, acquainting the committee, " he would confider of all they had faid, and " feek to God for counsel; and then he would " fend for them, and declare his resolution."

THE protector was now under great difficulties and distraction of mind, and many days pass'd before he could come to a resolution in

this

He still demurs.

this weighty affair. Whilst this business was in 1657. agitation, the lord Brogbill (afterwards earl of Orrery) as bishop Burnet informs us, coming one A remarday to Cromwell, and telling him he had been kable conin the city, the protector enquir'd of him, What ference news he had heard there. The lord Orrery told him and him, He had heard he was in treaty with the the earl of king, who was to be reftor'd, and to marry his Orrery. daughter. Cromwell shewing no displeasure at this, the earl faid, In the flate to which things were reduced, he could fee no better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleas'd; and his highness might retain the same authority he then had, with less trouble. To this Cromwell answer'd, The king can never forgive his father's blood. The earl reply'd, He was one of many that were concern'd in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him: Upon which the protector faid, He is so damnably debauch'd, he would undo us all; and so went off to other difcourse without any emotion; which made his lordship conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

THE protector in the mean time kept himself on fuch a referve, that no man knew what anfwer he would give to the parliament's offer, tho' 'twas thought most likely that he would accept of it. He, as Ludlow informs us, endeavoured by all possible means to persuade the officers of the army to approve the defign; for which purpose he one time invited himself to dine with colonel Desborough, and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him. He began to He endeadroll with them about Monarchy, and speaking yours to slightly of it, said, It was but a feather in a army. man's cap, and therefore he wonder'd that men would not please the children, and let them enjoy their rattle. But they being very ferious upon

the

1657. the matter, affur'd him, That there was more in vit than he perceiv'd: That those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded them. that he might conclude as he began, he told them, They were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so went away. At another time entering more seriously into debate with these two, he said, It was a tempting of God to expose so many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to secure them. But they infifting upon the oaths they had taken, he reply'd, That these oaths were against the power and tyranny of kings, but not against the four letters that made the word KING.

THE next day, his highness sent a message to the house, requiring their attendance to morrow morning in the painted-chamber, intending, as all men thought, there to declare his acceptance of the crown: But in the mean time meeting with his brother Desborough, as he was walking in the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, he received this answer from him, That then he gave the cause, and his family also for loft; and though he resolved never to act against bim, yet be would not act for him after that time. And so after some farther discourse, Desborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom the protector had knighted; and imparting to him his highness's intention to accept the title of King, Pride immediately answered, He shall not. Desborough asked him, How he would hinder it: Whereupon Pride said, Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it. And so they both went to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw a petition according to their mind.

THE next morning, the house being met, 1657. fome officers of the army coming to the parliament doors, fent in a meffage to colonel Desborough, to let him know that they had a petition, and defir'd him to present it to the house. But he knowing the contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, inform'd the house, that certain officers of the army had a petition to present to them; and mov'd that they should be call'd in, and have leave to present it with their own hands; which the house generally agreed to, not thinking the army would oppose their defigns. And so the petition being deliver'd by lieutenant-colonel Mason, was read in the house, and was to this effect; "That they Their pe-" had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and tition a-" were still ready so to do, in defence of the li- gainst ma-" berties of the nation: That having observ'd king. " in some men great endeavours to bring the " nation again under their old servitude, by " preffing their general to take upon him the " title and government of King, in order to de-" ftroy him, and weaken the hands of those who " were faithful to the publick; they therefore " humbly defir'd that they would discounte-" nance all fuch persons and endeavours, and " continue stedfast to the old cause, for the

'Tis hard to fay whether the parliament or the protector was most furpriz'd at this unexpected address. As foon as his highness heard of it, he fent for his fon-in-law Fleetwood, and told him, That he wonder'd he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hinder'd, fince be knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the

" preservation of which they for their parts were most ready to lay down their lives."

1657. army; and therefore he defired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. Accordingly the lieutenant-general went immediately thither, and told them, "That the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answer'd, at this time, the contents of it being to defire them not to press his highness to be King; whereas the present business was to receive his answer to " what had been formerly offer'd to him; and " therefore he defired that the debate of it " might be put off, till they had received his " answer." The house having agreed to this, receiv'd a message from the protector, that inflead of meeting him in the Painted-chamber, where he us'd to speak to them, they would meet him in the Banquetting-house: Whither being accordingly come, his highness made a broken kind of speech to them, as follows:

Hisspeech to the parliament,

"MR. speaker, I came hither to answer that that was in your last paper to your committee you sent to me, which was in relation to the desires which were offered to me by the house, in that they call'd their petition. I confess that business hath put the house, the parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much t me; I am very sorry, that it hath cost me some and some thoughts; and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expence of so much time, I shall spend little of it now. I have, the best I can, resolv'd the whole business in my thoughts, and I have said so much already in testimony of the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat any thing

"that I have said. I think it is a government, that the aims of it seeks much a settling the nation on a good foot in relation to civil rights

" and liberties, which are the rights of the na-

cc tion;

tion; and I hope I shall never be found to be 1657: " of them that shall go about to rob the nation " of those rights, but to serve them what I can " to the attaining of them. It hath also exceed-" ing well provided for the fafety and fecurity " of honest men, in that great, natural, and re-" ligious liberty, which is liberty of conscience. "These are great fundamentals, and I must " bear my testimony to them (as I have and " shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world) that the intentions of the things are " very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a parliament: I have only had the " unhappiness both in my conferences with your " committees, and in the best thoughts I could " take to my felf, not to be convicted of the ne-" cessity of that thing, that hath been insisted " upon by you, to wit, the title of King, as in " it felf so necessary, as it seems to be appre-" hended by your felves; and I do, with all ho-" nour and respect to the judgment of the par-" liament, testify that (cæteris paribus) no pri-" vate judgment is to lie in the balance with the " judgment of a parliament: But in things that " respect particular persons, every man, that is " to give an account to God of his actions, must " in some measure be able to prove his own work, " and to have an approbation in his own consci-" ence of that he is to do, or forbear; and " whilst you are granting others liberties, sure-" ly you will not deny me this, it being not on-" ly a liberty, but a duty (and fuch a duty as " I cannot without finning forbear) to examine " my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, " in every work which I am to fet mine hand " to, or to appear in or for. " I MUST confess, therefore, that though I " do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be

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a little

" a little confident in this; that what with the circumstances that accompany human actions, " whether they be circumstances of time, or of persons, whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circum-" stances that compass any person, that is to " render an account of his own actions; I have " truly thought, and do still think, that if I " should (at the best) do any thing on this ac-" count to answer your expectation, it would be at the best doubtingly: and certainly what is " fo, is not of faith; what soever is not of faith is " fin to him that doth it, whether it be with " relation to the substance of the action, about " which the confideration is conversant, or whe-"ther to circumstances about it, which make " all think indifferent actions good or evil to him " that doth it. I lying under this confideration, " think it my duty, only I could have wish'd I " had done it sooner, for the sake of the house, " who have laid so infinite obligations on it; " I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, " for faving time and trouble; and indeed for " the committee's fake, to whom I must ac-" knowledge publickly I have been unfeafonably " troublesome; I say, I could have wish'd I had given it sooner; but truly this is my " answer, that although I think the government " doth confift of very excellent parts in all but " that one thing, the Title; as to me, I should " not be an honest man, if I should not tell you, He refuses " that I cannot accept of the government, nor " undertake the trouble and charge of it, which " I have a little more experimented than every " man, what troubles and difficulties do befal men " under fuch trufts and in fuch undertakings; I fay,

the title.

" I am perfuaded to return this answer to you, " That I cannot undertake this government with ce the

" the title of a KING: And that is mine answer 1657.

" to this great and weighty bufinefs."

THUS Cromwell, on the 8th of May, refus'd A digrefthe title of King. And here we must not omit fion, con-a great design of his, which he had purpos'd to noble debegin his kingship with, in case he had assum'd sign of his it; as 'twas related to bishop Burnet by one in favour Stoupe, a Grison by birth, and much trusted by of the pro-Cromwell in foreign affairs. The design was, to ligion. fet up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation de propaganda fide, at Rome. His highness intended it should consist of feven counsellors, and four fecretaries for different provinces. The first province was to be, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the fecond, the Palatinate and the other Calvinists; the third, Germany, the North, and Turkey; and the fourth, the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have each 500 %. falary, and to keep a correspondence every where, to be inform'd of the state of religion all over the world, that all good defigns by their means might be promoted. A fund of 10000 l. per Annum was to be at their disposal for ordinary emergencies; but they were farther to be supply'd as there was occasion. Chelsea college was to be fitted up for them, being then an old decay'd building, which had been at first erected for writers of controversy. The bishop concludes the account thus: "I " thought it was not fit to let such a project as " this be quite lost: It was certainly a noble " one: But how far he would have pursu'd it, He is con-

" must be lest to conjecture." To return; Cromwell having refus'd the ti- tellor by tle of king, the parliament foon voted, " That the bum-" he should enjoy the title and authority he had ble Peti-" already;" which was in many particulars en- tion and larged beyond what it was by the former Instru- the parlia-

B b 3 ment, ment.

ment, by the new one, call'd the humble petition and advice. This instrument consisted of eighteen articles; but I shall only give the sub-The fub- stance of the chief ones, as follows: "That Rance of " his highness under the title of lord protector, would be pleas'd to exercise the office of chief " magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, " &c. and to govern according to all things in " this petition and advice: Also, that in his life-" time he would appoint the person that should " fucceed in the government after his death. "That he would call parliaments confifting of " two houses, once in three years at farthest. "That those persons who were legally chosen " by a free election of the people to ferve in par-" liament, might not be excluded from doing " their duties, but by consent of that house " whereof they were members. That none but " those under the qualifications therein mentioned, should be capable to serve as members in parliament. That the power of the other bouse be limited as therein prescrib'd. That the laws and flatutes of the land be observed and kept; and no laws altered, fuspended, abrogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but " by act of parliament. That the yearly fum of a million of pounds sterling be for the maintenance of the navy and army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the support of the government, besides other temporary supplies, as the commons in parliament should see neceffary. That the number of the protector's council should not be above one and twenty; whereof the quorum to be feven and not under. The chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of the great feal, &c. to be approved by parliament. That his highness would encourage a godly ministry in these nations;

" and that fuch as do revile or disturb them in 1657.

" the worship of God, may be punished accord-" ing to law; and where the laws are defective, " new ones to be made in that behalf. That " the protestant Christian religion, as it is con-" tained in the Old and New Testaments, be as-" ferted and held forth for the publick professi-" on of these nations, and no other; and that a " confession of faith be agreed upon and recom-" mended to the people of these nations; and " none be permitted by words or writings, " to revile or reproach the faid confession of " faith, &c."

THE preamble to this petition was in these The prewords: "We the knights, citizens, and burgef- amble " fes in this prefent parliament affembled, taking " into our most serious consideration the present

" ftate of these three nations, joined and united " under your highness's protection, cannot but in

" the first place with all thankfulness acknow-" ledge the wonderful mercy of almighty God,

" in delivering us from the tyranny and bon-" dage, both in our spiritual and civil concern-

" ments, which the late King and his party de-" figned to bring us under, and purfu'd the ef-

" feeting thereof by a long and bloody war: " And also that it hath pleas'd God to pre-

" ferve your person in many battles, to make you

" an instrument for preserving our peace, altho'

" environed with enemies abroad, and filled with " turbulent, restless, and unquiet spirits in our

" own bowels; and as in the treading down the

" common enemy, and restoring us to peace and

" tranquillity, the lord hath used you so eminent-

" ly, and the worthy officers and foldiers of the

" army (whose faithfulness to the common cause

" we and all good men shall ever acknowledge,

and put a just value upon;) so also that he B b 4 " Will

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" faith, &c."

THE preamble to this petition was in these The prewords: "We the knights, citizens, and burgef- amble of it. " fes in this prefent parliament affembled, taking " into our most serious consideration the present " ftate of these three nations, joined and united " under your highness's protection, cannot but in " the first place with all thankfulness acknow-" ledge the wonderful mercy of almighty God, " in delivering us from the tyranny and bon-" dage, both in our fpiritual and civil concern-" ments, which the late King and his party de-" figned to bring us under, and purfu'd the ef-" fecting thereof by a long and bloody war: " And also that it hath pleas'd God to pre-" ferve your person in many battles, to make you " an instrument for preserving our peace, altho' environed with enemies abroad, and filled with " turbulent, restless, and unquiet spirits in our " own bowels; and as in the treading down the common enemy, and restoring us to peace and " tranquillity, the lord hath used you so eminent-" ly, and the worthy officers and foldiers of the " army (whose faithfulness to the common cause " we and all good men shall ever acknowledge, and put a just value upon;) so also that he B b 4 " will

will use you and them in the settlement and securing our liberties as we are men and christians, to us and our posterity after us; which are those great and glorious ends, which the good people of these nations have so freely, with the hazard of their lives and estates, so " long, and earnestly contended for. We con-66 fider likewise the continual danger which your " life is in, from the bloody practices both of " the malignant and discontented party (one where-" of, through the goodness of God, you have " been lately delivered from) it being a received " principle amongst them, that no order being " fettled in your life-time for the fuccession in the government, nothing is wanting to bring us into blood and confusion, and them to their defired ends, but the destruction of your per-" fon: And in case things should thus remain at your death, we are not able to express what calamities would in all human probability en-" sue thereupon; which we trust your highness " (as well as we) do hold your felf obliged to provide against, and not to leave a people, whose common peace and interest you are entrusted with, in such a condition as may hazard both, especially in this conjuncture, when " there feems to be an opportunity of coming to " a settlement upon just and legal foundations. "Upon these considerations, we have judged it a

"highness."
This instrument being digested and agreed upon, the house sent to the protestor for an audience; which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the Banquetting-house. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their speaker Widdrington presented and read the said instrument

duty incumbent upon us to present and declare these our most just and necessary desires to your

ment to him, and defir'd his affent; which, af- 1657. ter a long pause, he with all the gestures of concern and perplexity, granted; and then declar'd He paffes to them as follows: "That he came thither it, and makes a that day, not as to a triumph, but with the speech to " most ferious thoughts that ever he had in all the mem-" his life, being to undertake one of the greatest bers. " burdens that ever was laid upon the back of " any human creature; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sink under the " weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these nations. This being so, he must ask " help of the parliament, and of those that fear "God, that by their prayers he might receive affiftance from God: for nothing elle could en-" able him to discharge so great a duty and " trust. That seeing this was but an introduc-"tion to the carrying on of the government of " these nations, and there were many things which could not be supply'd without the affi-" stance of parliament, it was his duty to ask " their help in them: not that he doubted; for " the same spirit that had led the parliament to "this, would easily suggest the rest to them. " For his part, nothing would have induc'd him " to take this unsupportable burden to flesh and " blood, but that he had seen in the parliament " a great care in doing those things which might " really answer the ends that they had engag'd " for, and make clearly for the liberty of the " nation, and for the interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various forms: " And if these nations were not thankful to them for their care therein, it would fall as a in upon their heads. That yet there were " fome things wanting that tended to reforma-" tion, to the discountenancing vice and the encouragement of virtue: but he spake not this

1657.

"as in the least doubting their progress, but as one that did heartily desire, to the end that God might crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judg'd fit, those things might be provided for." The speech being ended, the members return'd again to their house. And thus did his highness accomplish a chief part of what he design'd, which was to have his power and authority consirm'd by parliament.

CHAP. VII.

From his being confirm'd Protector by the parliament's humble Petition and Advice, to his Death. Concluding with some Account of his Character, and his pompous Funeral.

His folemn Inauguration.

TROMWELL having thus accepted of the government from the hands of the parliament, 'twas thought fit he should have a folemn Inauguration; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of June, and the house ordered the mafter of the ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign ambaffadors and ministers. Westminster-hall was prepar'd for this solemnity, and adorn'd and beautify'd as fumptuoully as it could be for a Coronation. upper end there was an afcent raifed, where a chair and canopy of state were set, and a table with another chair for the speaker; and seats were likewise built up for the members of parliament, the judges and officers, and for the lord mayor and aldermen of London. All things being prepar'd, the lord protector came out of a

room

room adjoining to the lords house (having come 1657. thither from Whitehall by water) and in this order proceeded into the hall. First went his gentlemen, then a herald; next the aldermen, another herald, and the attorney general; then the judges; then Norroy king at arms, the lords commissioners of the seal, and of the treasury; then garter king at arms, and after him the earl of Warwick carrying the fword bare-headed before the protector, and the lord mayor Tichburn carrying the city sword. His highness standing up under a cloth of state, the speaker of the parliament made the following speech to him.

" MAY it please your highness, You are now The spea-" upon a great theatre, in a large choir of peo-ker's ple: You have the parliament of England, speech to him. " Scotland and Ireland before you: On your " right hand, my lords the judges; and on your

" left hand, the lord mayor, aldermen and she-" rifts of London, the most noble and populous " city of England. The parliament with the

" interpolition of your fuffrage makes laws; and " the judges and governours of London are the " great dispensers of those laws to the people.

"The occasion of this convention and intercourse, is to give an investiture to your high-

" ness in that eminent place of Lord Protector; " a name which you had before, but it is now

" fettled by the full unanimous confent of the " people of these three nations affembled in par-

" liament: You have no new name, but a new

" date added to the old name; the fixteenth of

"December is now changed to the twenty-fixth

of June."

THEN he faid, he was commanded by the parliament to make oblation to his highness of four things in order to his inauguration. At which

1657. which, being affifted by the earl of Warwick, and Whitelock, he vested his highness with a robe of purple-velvet lin'd with ermines; telling him, It was an emblem of magistracy, and imported righteousness and justice. Then he presented him with a bible, richly gilt and boss'd with gold, and told him, It was a book that contain'd the boly scriptures, in which he had the happiness to be well vers'd; it was a book of books, and contain'd both precepts and examples for good government. Next he put in his hand a scepter of massy gold, saying, Here is a scepter, not unlike a staff; for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor. Lastly, he girt him with a very rich fword, with this comment, This is not a military, but a civil sword; it is a sword rather of defence than offence, not only to defend your self, but also your people. Then his highness took an oath, to govern the people of these three nations according to law, &c. Which done, Mr. Manton pray'd, recommending his bigbness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government and people of the three nations to the bleffing and protection of God. Then the trumpets founded, and an herald proclaim'd his highness's title, and all was concluded with the loud acclamations of the people, God fave the Lord Protector. The ceremonies being ended, his highness with his train return'd to Whitehall, and the members to their house, where they adjourn'd their fitting to the 20th of January next. There was a fine medal struck on the occasion of the protector's inauguration, perform'd by that excellent graver Simmonds; which had on one fide the built of Oliver, and round it, Oliver D. G. R. P. Ang. Sco. Hibernia Protector. On the reverse was an olive-tree flourishing.

rishing in a field, with this round it, Non defi- 1657.

cient Olivæ. Sept. 3. 1658.

THE bills pass'd by the lord protector this Bills fession, besides those already mention'd, were pass'd by " 1. An act for limiting and setting the prices for

wines. 2. An act for the taking away of pur-" veyance, and compositions for purveyance. 3. An " act against vagrants, and wandering, idle, dis-

" solate persons. 4. An alt giving licence for " transporting fish in foreign bottoms. 5. An act

" for quiet injoying of sequestered parsonages and " vicarages, by the present incumbents. 6. An act

" for discovering, convicting, and repressing of Po-" pish recusants. 7. An act for punishing of such

" persons as live at high rates, and have no visi-" ble estate, profession, or calling answerable there-

" unto. 8. An act for indemnifying of such per-

" sons as have acted for the service of the publick.

"9. An act for the better observation of the "Lord's-day. 10. An act for the better suppres-

" fing of theft upon the borders of England and "Scotland, and for discovery of high-way-men

" and other felons. 11. An all for the improve-

ment of the revenue of the customs and excise. " 12. An act for the affuring, confirming, and set-

ce tling of lands and estates in Ireland. 13. An

" act for the attainder of the rebels in Ireland. " 14. An act for the settling of the postage of

" England, Scotland and Ireland."

LUDLOW tells us, that the next day after the folemnity of the inauguration, there was a feast prepar'd for the affembly and officers of the army; at which 'twas observ'd major-general Lambert Lambert was not present; which occasion'd many disgusted to suspect he was declining in favour, for ob- and re-moved. structing Cromwell's design of being king: for he fays he was credibly inform'd, That when that business was on foot, the major-general took the

1657. the liberty to tell Cromwell, That if he accepted I the crown, he could not affire the army to him. Or perhaps he was disgusted at the protector's referving to himself the naming of his successor in the government. Some time after, upon the majorgeneral's refusing to take the oath, enjoin'd by the bumble petition and advice, not to do any thing against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the protector, according to the law of the land; his highness sent for him, and told him, He was well affur'd his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for be might remember, that he himself did at the first press bim to accept the title of King: and therefore, if be was now distatisfy'd with the present posture of affairs, he desir'd him to surrender his commission. To this Lambert answer'd, That having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it; but if he pleas'd to send for it, be should deliver it: Which two or three days after was accordingly done. But the protector not thinking it fafe to difgust him entirely, allow'd him a pension of 2000 L a year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

THE protector, now in the height of his grandeur and power, met with one very great misfortune, by the death of his valiant and victorious admiral Blake, after his having added one very fignal exploit more this year to his other glories. Having rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz and the coast of Portugal, he receiv'd certain intelligence, that another Spanish plate-fleet much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the English fleet had put into the bay of Santta Cruz in the island of Teneriff, one of the Canaries. on this Blake with his fleet weigh'd anchor,

The remarkable fuccess of admiral Blake at Santa Cruz.

April

April 13. and by the 20th stood off the Offing 1657. of the faid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arriv'd, to the number of fixteen men of war. The bay was fecur'd by a strong castle well furnish'd with great ordnance, besides feven forts more in feveral parts of it, mounted with fix, four and three great guns apiece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with musqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, caus'd all his fmaller ships to moor close to the shoar, cover'd by the castles and forts, and posted the fix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadfides to the fea. A Dutch merchant-man was at this time in the bay, the mafter whereof perceiving the English were ready to enter, and that a combat would presently ensue, desir'd Don Diego's leave to depart, For, said he, I am very sure, Blake will presently be amongst us; to which the Don resolutely answer'd, Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.

BLAKE having call'd a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, refolv'd to burn them all: To which end, he first order'd the brave captain Stayner, in the Speaker frigate, with a squadron to stand into the very bay; who by eight the next morning fell furiously upon the Spaniards, without the least regard to their forts, and fought them almost an hour. The admiral seconding him, posted some of the larger thips to cannonade the castle and forts; which play'd their parts so well, that the enemy after some time was forced to leave them. Blake for the space of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave refistance, but were at last abandon'd by the enemy; as were likewise the smaller vessels which

lay

1657.

lay under the forts, which were burnt by Stayoner, whilst Blake did the same by the large galleons: so that this whole plate-fleet, of inestimable value, was utterly destroy'd; and, which is very remarkable, as foon as ever the action was over, the wind, which before blew strong into the bay, on a sudden veer'd about, and brought Blake with his fleet out to fea, without the loss of one ship, and with no more than forty-eight men kill'd, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparallel'd action being brought to England before the end of the session, the parliament order'd a day of thanksgiving for this great success; and the lord protector, at their desire, fent the admiral a diamond ring of 500 l. value, and knighted Stayner at his return to England.

His death and charter.

BLAKE, after this noble exploit, fail'd back to Spain, where after having kept all their ships and ports in awe, he return'd for England. But falling fick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, just as the fleet was entering into Plymouth found; where he paffionately enquir'd for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral folemnly and justly bestow'd upon him, and the honour of being interr'd in Henry VIIth's chappel. The lord Clarendon fays, " He was " the first man that declin'd the old track, " and made it manifest, that the (naval) sci-" ence might be attain'd in less time than was " imagin'd; and despis'd those rules which had " been long in practice, to keep his ships and " his men out of danger, which had been held " in former times a point of great ability and " circumspection; as if the principal art requi-" fite in the captain of a ship had been to be " fure

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fure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles " on fhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discover'd by him to " make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the " first that infus'd that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, " if they were refolv'd; and taught them to " fight in fire as well as upon water: and tho' he " hath been very well imitated and follow'd, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute " atchievements."

HE had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the English dominion of the feas. He endeavour'd to preserve peace and unity among his seamen, by telling them, " That they should not listen to any news from land; " nor mind the changes in the government, but remember that the fleet was English, and that " their enemies were foreigners; and therefore they must fight for the honour of the English " nation." One instance of his care to preserve An inthe honour of his country, mention'd by bishop stance of Burnet, I cannot omit. He fays, that Blake his regard to the happening to be at Malaga with the fleet, before honour of Cromwell made war upon Spain, some of his his counfeamen going ashore, met the bost, as it was car-try. rying about, and not only refus'd to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at those who did. Whereupon one of the priests stirr'd up the people to resent this affront; and so they fell upon them and beat them feverely. The feamen returning to their ship, and complaining of the usage they had met with, Blake immediately dispatch'd a

trumpeter to the Vice-Roy, to demand the priest

1657. who had been the chief occasion of it: To which the Vice-Roy return'd this answer, That be had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of him. But Blake him word again, That he would not enquire who had power to fend the priest to him, but if he were not fent within three hours, he would burn their And fo being unable to relift him. they fent the priest to him; who justifying himfelf upon the rude behaviour of the feamen, Blake answer'd, That if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punish'd them severely, fince he would not suffer his men to affront the establish'd religion of any place at which he touch'd; but he took it ill, that he fet on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punish'd by an Englishman. And so he civilly treated the priest, and dismiss'd him, being satisfy'd that he had him at his mercy. The bishop says, Cromwell was exceedingly pleas'd with this, and read the letters in council with great fatisfaction, telling them, He hoped he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.

tor's arms by land.

The fue- As victory crown'd the protector's arms by cess of the sea this year, so his forces by land were not protect unsuccessful. The 6000 men which his highness was oblig'd by his treaty with France to provide, for acting jointly with the French against the Spaniards, being transported under the command of Sir John Reynolds and major-general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which when taken were to be put into Cromwell's hands, but march'd to other places which they were to conquer for their own wse. But his highness's ambaffador Lockbart made such repeated represen-

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tations to the cardinal, complaining of their 1657. breach of faith, not without some menaces, That his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as foon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army march'd into Flanders and invested Mardyke, which being taken would much facilitate the design upon Dunkirk. The French and English had not lain before this strong place above four days, when it was reduc'd to a furrender upon composition, and deliver'd up wholly into the possession of the English. But presently after, the French being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were fenfible of what great importance this place was to the preserving of Dunkirk, detach'd a body of horse and foot to retake it. Among these were 2000 English and Irish, commanded by the duke of York; and they made two very furious storms upon the fort, but were floutly repuls'd, and forc'd to fly, with the loss of several brave commanders.

LUDLOW speaking of this action, says, Many of those who were kill'd on the enemy's side were English under the duke of York: And as it was confess'd by all present, that the English who took part with the French, behav'd themselves with more bravery than any; so it was observ'd, that those of the cavalier party, who had join'd with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst. The marshal Turenne commanded the army that took Mardyke; to whom cardinal Mazarine wrote thus, at Lockbart's instances, before the fiege: Nothing can be of more fatal consequence to France, than the loss of Cromwell's friendship, and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broken, if some strong town is not taken and put into his hands. This conquest was very grateful to Gromwell, who immediately fent ten Cc 2

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men of war to guard the port of Mardyke, and cruize on that coast. A foreign popish writer, speaking of this matter, fays, " In effect nothing could flatter the ambition of Cromwell more than this acquisition, knowing he had thereby won immortal glory: He had, without the " loss of a man, accomplish'd a design, which " the greatest kings of England had often at-" tempted in vain, at the expence of their peo-" ple's blood and treasure: He had re-established the English on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themselves masters of " both fides of the channel, which had been de-" spair'd of since the loss of Calais.

UPON the French king's entering into an agreement with the lord protector of England, king Charles with his family was oblig'd to leave France and retire to Cologne; where having refided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with the catholick king, repair'd to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handsome accommodation The king for himself and his small court. About this time, among other methods he us'd in order to his restoration, Mr. Echard tells us of a private application he made to Cromwell, which he fays came from the mouth of the dutchess of Lauderdale, who told the same to a person, of whose credit he could make no question. The story is this: That this lady, afterward dutchess of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employ'd to make a private offer and propofal to him, in substance as follows, "That if he would " restore, or permit the king to return to his "throne, he would fend him a blank paper, for " him to write his own terms and limitations, and fettle what power and riches he pleas'd

makes a private offer to h.m.

" upon himself, family, and friends." This pro- 1657. posal was first communicated to the protestor's lady, who liked it very well, believing that besides other advantages, it would bring abfolute imdemnity and fecurity to her husband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when the was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavour'd to persuade him to accept of it, as being of the highest moment to the happiness of himself and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and perfuafions, prefently told her, She was a fool, adding this shrewd sentence, If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done against bim and his family, he does not deserve to wear the crown of England.

THE king keeping his court at Bruges in Flanders, had many confultations with the governor Don John, and was in great hopes the distractions in England might at length turn to his own advantage; which encourag'd the Spaniards to protect his person, and accept his arms in Flanders; where the marquess of Ormond, the lord Rochester, the lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the lord Taaf, and general Middleton, had their feveral regiments quarter'd along the fea-coast, under the command of the dukes of York and Gloucester; both to affist his catholick majesty against his enemies the French, who were supported by Cromwell, and to be in a readiness to transport themselves into England, if any favourable opportunity should invite them. And indeed, an infurrection of the king's friends An infurwas at this time defign'd; to promote which, rection defign'd. there was now publish'd, and with great industry dispers'd, a very bold paper, entitled, Killing no Murder, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the protector, as a tyrant and Cc 2 common

1657. common enemy of his country. This put his highness into a terrible fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the author, who was then conceal'd, not only in his person, but in the very suspicion of his name, tho' since generally believ'd to be colonel Titus, who made a great figure in some of the parliaments after the king's restoration. Some time after this alarm, which ferv'd more to put the protector upon his guard, than to forward the preparations of the royalists, the marquess of Ormand slipt over from Flanders, and lay privately in London, to quicken the design, intending also to fend for his And pre- troops to push on the execution of it. But the protector, who was always good at intelligence, had (as was before related) corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who feem'd to be at the head of the king's party, and pretended a great deal of zeal for his fervice, to discover all their most secret contrivances to him; and by his intelligence, he fet out a proclamation against the conspirators before they could get into a body; by which means many of them were apprehended, the marquess of Ormand himself very narrowly escaping.

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The other house of parliament.

vented.

THE protector now fent his writs of fummons under the great feal to divers persons to sit as members of the Other House; the form of which writs was the fame with that which was us'd to fummon the peers in parliament. The persons who were to compose the Other House were about fixty in number; among whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families of good estates, and some colonels and officers of the army. Their names were as follows: The lord Richard Cromwell, the protector's eldest son; the lord Henry Cromwell, his other son, lord deputy of Irland; Nathaniel Fiennes, and Toba

John Liste, lords commissioners of the great seal; 1657. Henry Lawrence, lord president of the council; Charles Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of the army; Bulftrode Whitelock, and William Sydenham, commissioners of the treasury; Robert earl of Warwick, Edmund earl of Mulgrave, Edward earl of Man-chefter, William viscount Say and Seal, Philip viscount Lifle, Philip lord Wharton, Thomas lord Fauconberg, George lord Eure, John Claypole Efg; Charles Howard Esq; whom the protector made a viscount, John Desborough, and Edward Mountaque, generals at sea; Sir Charles Wolsley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Walter Strickland Efg; majorgeneral Skippon, colonel Philip Jones, Sir William Strickland, Francis Rouse Esq; John Fiennes Esq; Sir Francis Russel, Sir Thomas Honnywood, Sir Arthur Hasterigg, Sir John Hobart, Sir Ri-chard Onslow, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir William Roberts, lord-chief-justice Glynn; lord-chief-justice St. John, William Pierpoint Esq; John Crew Esq; Alexander Popham Efg; Sir Christopher Pack, Sir Robert Tichburn, Edward Whalley Eig; Sir John Barkstead, lieutenant of the tower; Sir George Fleetwood, Sir Thomas Pride, Sir John Hewson, Richard Ingoldsby Esq; James Berry Esq; William Goffe Esq; Thomas Cooper Esq; Edmund-Thomas Esq; George Monk, general in Scotland; David earl of Cassils, Sir William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnston, William Steel, lord chancellor of Ireland; Roger lord Broghil, Sir Matthew Tomlinson, William Lenthal and Richard Hambden Esgrs; Some of these were knights of the protector's own making.

THE parliament thus improv'd by the addi- The two tion of another house, met a second time on the houses meet, and 20th day of January; when the protector came his highas a fovereign to the house of lords, and sending nessmakes for the speaker and house of commons by the a speech black- to them.

1657.

black-rod, made a short speech to them, beginning in the old stile, My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of commons; and then discoursing some particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good correspondence the last session, and assuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they should be call'd the blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them; he lest his lord keeper Fiennes to make a long speech to them, with all the state of our ancient monarchs.

As feveral of the nobility, who had writs fent to them, refus'd to fit in the Other House, fo Sir Arthur Hasterigg, and some few more of the commons declin'd that honour, and chose rather to fit in the lower house, for which they had been elected members by the people. Many others also, who had been excluded by the protector in the first session of this parliament, now ventur'd to take their feats, upon the 3d article of the Petition and Advice, by which no members legally chosen, were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house whereof they were members. By this means, and the removal of those of the other house, who were for the most part taken out of this, a confiderable alteration was made in this affembly; fo that they foon began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house, and several of the members, particularly Sir Arthur Hasterigg, appear'd very forward in fomenting differences between these two bodies. Upon this his highness sent for the commons to the Banquettingbouse, where he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the Petition and Advice. But this having no effect upon them, they went on in the same way; many being

Discord between the two houses.

being against the members of the other house 1657. being call'd Lords, others intirely against the having such another house, and some speaking reproachfully of it. These proceedings tended to their own destruction; for the protector looking upon himself to be aim'd at by them, and that these things were only the testimonies of their envy towards him and his government, began to think of putting a stop to all by dissolving the parliament. Whilst he was revolving thus in his mind, on the 4th of February, he receiv'd fresh information concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts; which quicken'd him to that degree, that he would not flay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the Other House: Whither being come, he imparted his resolution to dissolve the parliament to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to diffuade him from it, he clap'd his hand upon his breaft, and fwore, by the living God he would do it. Then the usher of the black rod was fent to the commons to acquaint them, that his highness was in the lords house, and there requir'd their attendance. Hereupon The prothey with the speaker went up, and his highness tector difmade a speech to them, declaring several urgent solves and weighty reasons, which made it necessary for him, in order to the publick peace and safety, to proceed to an immediate disfolution of this parliament; and accordingly he did diffolve them.

His highness was the more incens'd, because Plot of at this time the fifth-monarchy men were form- the fifthing a dangerous conspiracy to overthrow him monarchy men aand his government; which he suspected was gainst him countenanc'd by many of the parliament. Majorgeneral Harrison was deep in this plot, which

1657. was laid for an infurrection to dethrone the protector. Their chief cabal was held in a house near Shoreditch, where fecretary Thurloe, who spar'd no pains or money for his master's safety, had a fpy among them, and fuffer'd them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he fent a party of foldiers, who feiz'd the chief of them as they were confulting about the manner of putting their design in execution. Their arms and ammunition were likewise seiz'd, with a standard of a Lion Couchant, as of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, Who shall rouse him up? and feveral copies of a printed declaration, with this title, The principle of the remnant, &c. The conspirators apprehended were Venner, Gray, Gowler, Hopkins, Ashton, and others, who were carry'd prisoners to the Gate-house, where they lay long in a miserable condition, but were spared to create diffurbance and their own deftruction at another time, viz. foon after the king's restoration.

SHORTLY after, as Ludlow informs us, some persons who us'd to meet in Coleman-street, to deplore the apostasy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were apprehended by the lord mayor's officers, pursuant to the protector's orders, as they were coming out of their meeting-place. Among these was one cornet Day, who being accus'd of faying, That the protector was a rogue and a traitor, confess'd the words; and to justify himself said, that Cromwell had affirm'd in the presence of himself and several other officers, That if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time (now. past) they should then have liberty to say, he was a rogue and a traitor. He desir'd leave therefore

Story of cornet Day.

to produce his witnesses, who were then present, 1657, to what he had afferted. But the business was so manag'd, that he and some others were fin'd and

imprison'd for their misdemeanours.

THE Cavalier plot was mention'd before. And The Caof this also he had timely informations given valier plot him; upon which he fent for the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of London, and acquainted them with it, and defir'd their care to put the city into a posture of They accordingly went back with great indignation against the Royalists, and took extraordinary care of their gates and guards, and withal drew up an humble address to his highness, promising the faith of the city, and the purse of it, in firmly adhering to him against all his enemies. Addresses also of the same strain were made from general Monk's and other regiments, and from the English forces in Flanders; all which his highness answer'd with thanks. He 1658. now thought it time to proceed against the conspirators themselves, whom he had safely lodged in prison. For this purpose a high court of Trial of justice was erected, being founded on a law made Sir Henry by the late parliament for the security of his slingsby highness's person. Whitelock was one of the and Mr. commissioners, but he tells us he never fat with Mordauns. them, it being against his judgment. Before this court were brought Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Siingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner fort. The general charge against them " For endeavouring to levy war against the government on behalf of Charles Stuart." The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was, " For dispersing commissions from the son of the " late king, and perfuading divers to raife forces by virtue of the same." That against Sir Henry Slingsby was, " For attempting to de-" bauch

1658. " bauch some of the garrison of Hull to the fervice of Charles Stuart, and delivering a com-" mission from him to them." And the prisoners of less note were charg'd "With a de-" fign of firing the city in feveral parts, at the " time appointed for the insurrection." Dr. Hewet deny'd the jurisdiction of the court, and argued against the legality of it; and so for contempt, after having been three times requir'd to plead, he was adjudg'd guilty of the charge; and when he afterwards offer'd to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir Henry Slingsby pleaded that he was a prisoner at the time when he was charg'd to have practis'd against the government, and that the persons whom he was accus'd of attempting to corrupt, had trepann'd him by their promises to serve the king in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commission to act for him; which commission was an old one that had lain long by him. But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. Hervet, adjudg'd to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on Tower Hill, notwithstanding all endeavours that were us'd for procuring their pardon. Six of the meaner fort were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three suffer'd; one in Tower-street, another in Cheapside, and the third before the Exchange. As for Mr. Mordaunt, he pleaded Not Guilty, and after a full hearing of the witneffes on both fides, the court acquitted him by one voice

WHEN these trials were over, the high court of justice was dissolv'd, and the protector, by Whitelock's advice, referr'd all suture trials of conspirators to the Upper Bench, in the course of common law. He not only made Howard a viscount, but sign'd a patent to make Whitelock one, and three other patents to make the attor-

ney-general Prideaux, and the solicitor-general, 1658. Baronets, and John Maynard Esq, his highness's

ferjeant.

In the beginning of this year, a party of the Defign garrison of Oftend, with the privity of the go-upon vernour, held intelligence with cardinal Maza-Oftend. rine, and then with the protector Cromwell, to betray that town into the hands of the French, wherein the lord protector was to have his share. Mazarine was to fend a land army under the command of marshal D' Aumont, and the protector was to furnish a fleet for transporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the suppos'd conspirators and the cardinal, on May 14th, the appointed day, the English fleet appear'd before Oftend, and the garrison permitted the French to pass and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate possession of the place. But the fubtle governour, having fuffer'd the fleet to come to a proper distance, on a sudden pull'd down the white flag that had invited them in, and set up a bloody flag: And before the vessels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he forely gall'd them by the cannon from the forts; and the French that landed were all, to the number of 1500, flain or taken prisoners, among which last was the marshal D' Aumont himfelf.

PRESENTLY after this great disappointment, The siege it was resolved to attempt the taking of Dunkirk; and battle which was accordingly invested by the French, of Dunassisted by 6000 valiant English men, under the inspection of Lockhart, the protector's ambassador, but more immediately under the command of major-general Morgan. Whilst they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the French under marshal Turenne on the side of Newport, and Morgan with his English and a brigade

1658. of French horse, on that next Mardyke, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spanish general Don John of Austria, with the prince of Conde. the prince de Ligny, and the dukes of York and Gloucester, were advancing with 30000 men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French king and cardinal were perfuaded by Turenne and others to withdraw their persons, and retire to Calais, and leave all to be determin'd by a council of war. In the first council, which was held without either Lockbart or Morgan, it was refolv'd to raise the siege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when those two were present, Morgan vehemently oppos'd that refolution, alledging, What a dishonour it would be to the crown " of France, to have summon'd a place, and broke ground before it, and then raise the " fiege and run away;" and defiring the council to consider, That if they rais'd the siege, the alliance with England would be broken the same bour. Upon which it was refolv'd, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the fiege. And the enemy coming on, a desperate fight. ensu'd, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the English, before the French came in. At the end of the pursuit, marshal Turenne, with above a hundred officers, came up to the English, alighted from their horses, and embracing the officers, faid, "They never faw a more glorious action in their lives, and that " they were so transported with the sight of it; that they had not power to move, or do any " thing." The Spanish army being entirely vanquish'd, the confederates renew'd their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigor and industry; and the marquess de Leda the governour, being mortally wounded, as he

The . town taken.

was fallying out upon the besiegers, the Spani- 1658. ards within defir'd a prefent capitulation; which being granted, this important place was furrender'd upon articles, on the 25th of June; when it was immediately deliver'd up into the hands of the English by the French king and cardinal in person, pursuant to the treaty between them

and his highness the lord protector.

AND here I cannot omit the following story Aremarkin relation to this affair, in which both the per-able flory fidiousness of the French court, and the policy forth the and power of the English lord protector are ve-great pory remarkably seen. It is thus related by Dr. licy and Welwood. "When the French army being join'd power of with the English auxiliaries, was on its march tector. to invest the town, Cromwell fent one morning " for the French ambassador to White-ball, and " upbraided him publickly for his mafter's de-" figned breach of promise, in giving secret or-" ders to the French general to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambassador or protested he knew nothing of the matter, as " indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to affure him, that there was no fuch thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, Here (fays he) is a copy of the cardinal's order: And I defire you to difec patch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if be deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shal! be taken, I'll come in person and demand them at the gates of Paris. There were but sour persons said to be privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the marshal de Turenne, and a fecretary. The cardinal for a long time blam'd the queen, as if the might " possibly

" possibly have blabb'd it out to some of her women: Whereas it was found after the fe-" cretary's death, that he had kept a fecret cor-" respondence with Cromwell for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had " fent him the copy of the order above-men-" tion'd. The message had its effect; for Dun-

embaffy to him from the French Court.

" kirk was put into the possession of the English: A folemn " And to palliate the matter (continues Wel-" wood) the duke and marshal of Crequy was dif-" patch'd into England, ambassador extraordi-" nary, to compliment Gromwell, attended with a numerous and splendid train of persons of e. quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the pro-" tector, full of the highest expressions of re-" spect, and affuring his highness, That being " within view of the English shore, nothing but " the king's indisposition (who lay then ill of the " fmall-pox at Calais) could have hinder'd him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the ho-" nour of waiting upon one of the greatest men " that ever was, and whom, next to his master; " his greatest ambition was to serve. But being depriv'd of so great a happiness, he had sent the ce person that was nearest to him in blood, to as-" jure him of the profound veneration he had for ic his person, and how much he was resolv'd, to the utmost of his power, to cultivate a perpetual amity and friendship betwint his master and ce bim."

Tho' Welwood tells us, this embaffy was to palliate the business of Dunkirk, the author of the history of England during the reigns of the royal bouse of Stuart, says it was to return a compliment Cromwell paid the French king, on his arrival at Calais, just before Dun-

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kirk was surrender'd; when his highness sent 1658. the lord Falconbridge, his fon-in-law, with a numerous and splendid retinue, of 150 gentlemen and fervants, to congratulate that monarch upon his coming into the neighbourhood of England. He also brought a letter from the protector to the king, written with his own hand, and another to the cardinal, preffing the reducing of Dunkirk, as a nest of pirates. His lordship had as much honour done him as could be paid to a fovereign prince. All rules in the ceremonials were pass'd over. The cardinal receiv'd him as he came out of his coach, and gave him the right hand in his apartment, which was never done to the imperial ambassador, or the pope's nuncio, and at which all the other foreign ministers grumbled. He was royally treated both by the king and the cardinal, during the five days of his flay; and after he had taken his audience of leave, his majesty presented him with a gold box inlaid with diamonds, the arms of France on the cover, and three large jewels for the three Flowerde-luces; on the infide was the king's picture fet in diamonds; the whole of 5000 crowns value. And as his excellency had presented the king with two fets of English horses, from the lord protector, and one fet to the cardinal; the king return'd a present of a sword, valu'd at 10,000 crowns; and the cardinal fent his highness a fuit of tapestry hangings, wrought after the Persian manner in the Gobelins at Paris.

And hereupon, the duke de Crequi (as was before mention'd) was dispatch'd into England by the French king, to compliment the lord protector. He was receiv'd at his landing at Dover by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, accompanied by several great officers in twenty coaches and fix,

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one hundred life-guard, and two hundred horse. who all attended the ambaffador with fwords drawn in their hands; besides above 150 gentlemen, who came with Fleetwood on horseback. The protector met his excellency at the third stair. and the next day entertain'd him at dinner, feating him at his right hand, and his fon the lord Richard at his left. Some fay, the duke presented Cromwell with the keys of Dunkirk, telling him, His master took pleasure in parting with them to the greatest captain upon earth. He flay'd fix days, and at his departure, his highness presented him with a sword, worth 3000 crowns, and a striking watch set with diamonds of the same value, with above 40 pieces of fine English broad-cloth. He gave also 30 gold watches to the officers and gentlemen of his retinue, and 1000 broad pieces among his fervants.

But as all worldly glory and prosperity must of his af- have an end, so our protector's greatness, which fairs a lit-expired only with his life, now drew near to a tle before period. It has been observ'd by some, that tho' after the dissolution of the last parliament, all things feem'd to fucceed at home and abroad, according to his wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever; yet he never had that ferenity of mind, after his refufal of the crown, that he before usually enjoy'd: that he was now much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he used to be, and the many plots and conspiracies against him. gave his mind great disturbance; insomuch that he grew very suspicious, and more difficult of access, and was more rarely seen abroad than formerly. Bishop Burnet says, it was generally believ'd that his life and all his arts were exhaufted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held things together. How-

However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly 1658. afflicted with the loss of some of his family and friends, a little before his death. He seemed to be much troubled for the death of his friend. the old earl of Warwick, with whom he had a fast friendship, tho' neither their humours nor their natures were very much alike: And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, and confidence in that family, was at an end. But that which chiefly diffurb'd The his peace, was the death of his best beloved death daughter, the lady Elizabeth Claypole, who is daughter faid to have earnestly interceded for Dr. Hewer's Clarpole. life, and yet in that only instance had a denial from her fond father. She died at Hampton-Court on the 6th of August; and her body being carried by water to Westminster, after lying in state in the Painted-Chamber, was solemnly interr'd in Henry the VII's chapel.

About a week after her death, the protector, He falls who had been ill about a fortnight before, grew fick. confiderably worse at Hampton-Court, whither he had retired with his council. His disease at first was a kind of tertian ague, which for fome time continued under several appearances, with fymptoms fo favourable, that every other day he walked abroad in the palace garden: But now he began to be more confin'd; and about the end of August took his bed, and made a will relating to his private and domestick concerns. His fits still growing stronger, and his spirits weaker, he was remov'd from Hampton-Court to White-Hall (tho' Whitelock fays he died at Hampton-Court.) Here he foon appear'd to be delirious, and his physicians began to think him in real danger; tho' his chaplains seem'd still to affure themselves of his recovery; infomuch that

1658. Dr. Thomas Goodwin, in his prayer to God for him, is faid to have expressed himself thus, That they asked not for his life; for they were affur'd

He apfon Richard to fucceed him.

be had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things then of great moment to be difpatch'd. His fickness still increasing, so that he feem'd to be drawing near his end, those of his council being alarm'd, came to put him in mind to nominate his fucceffor, according to the humble petition and advice. But he being now points his almost in a lethargy, and not answering to the purpose, they ask'd him again, whether 'twas his will that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the protectorship; to which twas said he answer'd, Yes. Ludlow says, the commissioners of the great feal attended for figning the declaration of the person to be appointed his successor; but whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the fuccession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discompos'd in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or laftly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is uncertain: But certain it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him. Others give this account of the protector's last sickness, and the business of a successor: That after Cromwell had been some time ill, a malignant humour broke out in his foot, which hindering him from the exercise of walking or riding abroad, he oblig'd his physicians to endeavour to disperse it, which they attempting to do, drove it upwards to his heart; by which means he became desperately fick,

fick, and in the beginning of September the sym- 1658. ptoms of death appear'd upon him; and asking U one of his physicians, what he thought of his case? the doctor answer'd, My lord, there is no more oil in that lamp which has given so much light to both church and state. The dying protector replied with a magnanimity worthy of him, When do you think it will go out? The physician told him, In two days at farthest: Upon which Cromwell faid, It is time then to fettle my mind, and provide for the sasety of the state. Accordingly he sent for his council, and recommended to them the choice of a successor, tho' by the bumble petition and advice he might nominate one himfelf, which it was expected he wou'd have done. The author of the history of England, during the reigns of the royal bouse of Stuart, fays, lieutenant general Fleetwood did, without doubt, expect to have been declar'd fucceifor to Cromwell, and without doubt had been so promis'd by his father-in-law; and he farther fays, his manuscript author, who had his memoirs from the earl of Orrery (the famous lord Brogbill in Cromwell's time) affirms Oliver made Fleet wood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away and burnt it, before Fleetwood could come at it: And a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was ask'd, Who should succeed bim, he reply'd, In such a drawer of the cabinet, in my closet, you will find it. Fleetwood found himself trick'd, and the whole council against him; so he fell in with them, waiting an opportunity to right or revenge himself. However this was, on the third of September (his beloved He dies. and victorious day, on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greatest victories, at Dunbar and Worcester) about three in the asternoon, the protector expired; on which day, or, as fome Dd3 fay,

fay, the day before, there happened the most violent from of wind that had ever been known; which I have not fo ftrong a fancy as to imagine, with a certain author, was any thing preternatural; any more than I can believe the prediction of colonel Lindsey as to the day of the protector's death, which is founded upon the ftory of his making a league with the devil; a ftory, which, by the very filliness of the relation, sufficiently confutes it self.

His age, and the time of his government.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after fo many great actions, so many toils and fatigues, and so many plots and conspiracies against his life, at last dy'd quietly in his bed. He expired in the fixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the diffolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declar'd protector by the instrument of Government, and but one year three months and nine days, after his being confirm'd in that Office by the humble petition and advice.

Some account of his character.

Thus having given a faithful account of the actions of this great man, I might leave every one to judge of his character from thence: However, it may not be amiss to take a short view of it. As to his person, he had a manly stern look, and was of an active healthful constitution. able to endure the greatest toil and fatigue. When he appear'd first in the parliament, he made no great figure, there seemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he discovered none of those talents which use to gain applause, and work upon the affections of the hearers and standersby; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts feem'd to be rais'd, as if he had faculties that lay conceal'd, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a

great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom. His conversation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick referv'd and grave. He us'd often to confult with the lord Brogbil. Pierpoint, Whitelock, Sir Charles Wolfley and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together with them in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him: He would sometimes be very chearful, and laying aside his greatness, would be exceeding familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy: He commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himself: Then he would fall again to his great and ferious business, and would advise with them about

his weighty and important affairs.

HE affected, for the most part, a plainness in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendance, he appear'd with magnificence upon publick occasions. He was very temperate, sparing in his diet, and tho' sometimes he would drink freely, yet never to excess: He was moderate in all other pleasures, and after his first reformation, free from all visible immoralities, and feem'd to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover of virtue, always taking care to suppress the former, and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good hand, and a ftyle becoming a gentleman, except when he us'd to cant, which, whether it was affected or fincere, I leave others to judge. His speeches were for the most part ambiguous, especially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning, than told them himself: tho' at other times he fufficiently shew'd he could command his style according as there was occasion, and would deliver D d 4 himself

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himself with such a force and strength of expresfion, that 'twas commonly faid, That every word he spoke was a thing. He loved men of wit, and was a great admirer of musick, entertaining the most skilful in that science in his pay and family. He respected all persons that excell'd in any art, and would procure them to be fent or brought to him. He was very well read in the Greek and Roman story; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing these Nations, he studied men more than books, so that his turn was served in all offices. No man was ever better ferv'd, nor took more pains to be fo: No man more cunningly div'd into the manners of men, and into the tempers of those whom he had any thing to do with, nor sooner discover'd their talents. And if he came to hear of a man fit for his purpose, tho' ever so obscure, he sent for him, and employ'd him; fuiting the employment to the perfon, and not the person to the employment: And upon this maxim in his government depended, in a great measure, his success.

HE had undoubtedly a wonderful knowledge of men, and by his great penetration could foon discover their abilities and qualifications: An instance of which we have in Dr. Calamy's life of Mr. Howe. He tells us, that Mr. Howe having occasion to come to London, had a mind . to hear a fermon at White-Hall, on the last Sunday he defign'd to flay in town. The protector feeing him, knew him to be a country minister by his habit; and differning fomething more than ordinary in his looks, fent a messenger to him, desiring to speak with him after the service was over. Mr. Howe waiting upon him accordingly, the protector defired him to preach before him the next lord's day; and told him it was in vain to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take

take no denial. Mr. Howe pleaded, that his people expected him, and would be uneafy if he stay'd any longer from them: But Cromwell undertook to write to them himself, and to dispatch one to supply his place, which he actually did; and Mr. Howe preach'd before him as he was defired. Cromwell pressed him to do the same a second and a third time; and after much free conversation in private, nothing would satisfy him but he must be his houshold chaplain; and he promis'd to take care that his place should be fupply'd at Torrington to the people's content. Mr. Howe was highly respected by the protector, and had a great interest in him; tho' he was once like to lose his favour, upon the following occafion (as related by the above-mentioned author.) The notion of a particular faith in prayer, carry'd even as far as to inspiration it felf, prevail'd much in Cromwell's court; and great pains were taken to cultivate and support it. Mr. Howe having heard a fermon from a noted person, in defence of this notion, refolv'd the next time his turn came to preach before the protector, to oppose such spiritual pride and considence. Cromwell heard him with great attention; but would fometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneafiness. After the sermon, a person of distin-Etion came to him, and ask'd if he knew what he had done; and fignified his apprehension, that the protector would be so offended at that difcourse, that he would find it a hard matter ever to make his peace with him, or fecure his favour for the future : And Mr. Howe himself afterwards observ'd, that Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; tho' he never mentioned the fermon to him.

To return to his character: He had a rare faculty of examining and winding about the

minds of all, even his enemies, which he could befet with innumerable fnares and artifices. He often made feafts for the inferior officers of the army, and as they were eating. he would order the drums to beat, and call in his foot-guards, to fall on and fnatch off the meat from the table, before they had half done; after which, to make farther diversion, he would proceed to throwing of cushions, putting burning coals into their boots and pockets, and a hundred fuch pranks: And when the officers had fufficiently tired themselves with laughing and fporting in that manner, he wou'd wheedle them to open their hearts, and so draw from them fome fecrets of the greatest moment; while himself, sounding the opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an absolute command over all his passions and affections, so that he could fuit his carriage to all companies and occasions. He would sometimes be very merry and jocund with some of the nobility; and would then take occasion to tell them, what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the king and royal family's Health; advising them, when they did it again, to do it more privately; and this without the leaft fign of passion, but in a way of mirth and drollery. Having entertain'd some jealousy of general Monk in Scotland, he, a little before his death, wrote a letter to him with his own hand. The body of the letter contain'd only some general matters relating to the government; but after his usual droiling manner, he subjoin'd this by way of postscript, which was indeed the main occasion of the letter: There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce

duce Charles Stuart; I pray use your diligence

to apprehend him, and send him up to me.

ALL allow he was an extraordinary genius. and master of the most refined policy; that he had a great spirit, a wonderful circumspection and fagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. His courage and conduct in the field, were undoubtedly admirable; he had a greatness of foul, which the greatest dangers and difficulties rather animated than discouraged; and his discipline and government of the army was in all respects such as might become the most renowned and accomplish'd general. " He must, er fays the lord Clarendon, have had a wonderful " understanding in the natures and humours of " men, and as great a dexterity in applying " them, who, from a private and obscure birth et (tho' of a good family) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise him-" felf to fuch a height, and compound and knead " fuch opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests, into a consistence that " contributed to his defigns, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly er powerful enough to cut off those by whom " he had climbed, in the instant that they pro-" jected to demolish their own building.

AMBITIOUS he certainly was to a very high degree, and yet at the same time seem'd to have a passionate regard to the publick good: And if this was really the case, the former seems to have so far blinded him, as to make him think many things were for the publick good which really were not so: But how far the necessity of affairs, and the consusion and unsettled state the nation was then in; how far this extraordinary case, I say, might justify such proceedings in some instances, in order to prevent greater confusions

fusions and distractions, or whether this was really

Cromwell's defign in those proceedings, I leave the reader to judge. But whatever censure we are to pass upon his actions of this kind, it is allow'd by all, even by his enemies, that he perform'd many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation. One of them * reckons them up thus: " 1. By Blake " he more humbled and fubdu'd the Algerine, " Tripoli and Tunis pirates, than ever any be-" fore or since did. 2. Westminster-Hall was " never replenish'd with more learned and up-" right judges than by him; nor was justice, " either in law or equity, in civil cases, more " equally distributed, where he was not a party. " 3. When the Norway traders represented to " him the mischief and inconveniencies of the " act of navigation, he, during his time, dif-" pensed with it, and permitted the English to " trade to Norway for timber, masts, pitch, " tar, and iron, as before the act: And by a " law made in his third parliament, licence is " given to transport fish in foreign bottoms. 4. Though he play'd the fool in making war with Spain, and peace with France, yet he " made a more advantagious treaty of com-" merce for the English to France, than before " they had. 5. Tho he join'd forces with the " French against the Spaniards, yet he reserv'd " the sea-towns conquer'd from the Spaniard, to " himself, and so had Dunkirk and Mardyke " deliver'd up to him, and would have had " Oftend, if the garrison had not cheated both " Mazarine and him; thereby to be arbitrator over the French, as well as Spaniards, when " he pleas'd. 6. Cromwell outvy'd the best of our kings, in rendering our laws to the subject

a contract hart confiden

* Coke.

that

"in the English tongue: For tho' Edward I. "permitted pleading in the English tongue, "yet he went no farther; whereas Cromwell render'd not only the pleadings, but practice, and laws themselves into English." In short, he apply'd himself so industriously to the business of the common-wealth, and discover'd such abilities for managing it, that his greatest enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been just and innocent. And he shew'd his good understanding in nothing more than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but more particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

Tho' he was brave in his person, yet he was wary in his conduct; for from the time he was first declar'd protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. He was very cautious and referv'd whenever there was occasion, and in matters of greatest moment trusted none but his fecretary Thurloe, and oftentimes not him; an instance of which the secretary us'd to tell of himself: "That he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's-" Inn, and at such a place deliver a bill of 20000 l. co payable to the bearer at Genoa, to a man " he should find walking in such a habit and co posture as he describ'd him, without speaking " a word." Thurlos did as he was order'd; and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion. At another time the protector came late at night to Thurloe's office, to give him directions about fomething of great importance and fecrecy; which having done, he observ'd, that Mr. Moreland, one of the clerks, was in the room, feeming to be afleep upon his desk; but suspecting that he might not really be so, and that he might have overheard their discourse, he presently drew a ponyard, which he always carried under his coat, and would have dispatch'd him upon the spot, if Thursoe had not earnestly intreated him to desist, and affor'd him, that Moreland having sat up two nights together,

was now certainly fast asleep.

No prince feem'd to be mafter of fo much, and fo particular intelligence as Cromwell; of which I have given some remarkable instances in the foregoing history, and shall here add one more, as wonderful as any of the reft: A gentleman who had ferv'd the late king, defir'd leave of the protector to travel, and obtain'd it, on condition he should not see Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at Cologn, he fent to defire of the king that he might wait on him by night, which was agreed to. And when he had fully discours'd of the business he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a letter which he few'd within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to England, he came with confidence to the protector; and being asked by him, If he had punttually perform'd bis promise? he answer'd, that he bad: But, said his highness, Who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart? The gentleman was startled at this unexpected question; and the protector farther demanding, What he said to him, he answer'd, Nothing at all. Did he not send a letter by you then? said Cromwell; and the gentleman denying that also, Cromwell took his hat, and having found the letter, fent him immediately to the Tower.

His maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign parts, gratify'd the temper which is very natural to Englishmen. Of this he was so careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd head, yet his ambassadors had all the respects and

honours

honours paid them, which our kings ambassadors ever had. He would say, That the dignity of the erown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the representative head; and therefore the nation being still the same, he would have the same respect paid to his ministers. And 'tis very observable, that Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador in France, and governour of Dunkirk, told bishop Burnet, That when he was sent afterwards ambassador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time.

Few princes ever bore their character higher upon all occasions than our protector, especially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And 'tis a thing without example that's related by one of the best inform'd historians of the age, namely Puffendorf, in his life of the elector of Brandenburgh, That in Cromwell's league with France against Spain, he would not allow the French king to call himself king of France, but king of the French; whereas he took to himself not only the title of protector of England, but likewise of France: And which is yet more furprizing, in the instrument of the treaty, the protector's name was put before the French king's. France indeed was then under a minority. and was not arriv'd to that power and greatness, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our protector contributed not a little, by that alliance with France against Spain, which is generally reckon'd the falfest step he ever made, with respect to the repose of Europe; and for which he has been highly reflected on. But I shall here set down in his behalf, what Sir William Temple writes concerning him on this occafion, in the third part of his Memoirs.

" CARDINAL Mazarine, fays that author, having furmounted his own dangers, and the " difficulties incident to a minority, pursu'd the ec plan left him by his predecessor (viz. cardi-" nal Richlieu;) and by his measures taken with cc Cromwell, and the affiftance of an immortal body of 6000 brave English, which by agreeee ment were to be continually recruited, he made " fuch a progress in Flanders, that Cromwell soon " perceiv'd the balance turn'd, and was grown too heavy on the French fide: Whereupon he dif-" patch'd a gentleman privately to Madrid, to " propose there a change of his treaty with ce France, into one with Spain; by which he would draw his forces over into their fervice, and make them 10000, to be continually re-" cruited, upon condition their first action should " be to besiege Calais, and when taken, to put " it into his hands. The person sent upon this errand, was past the Pyrenees, when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death: " whereupon Mazarine having not only loft his " strongest support in Flanders, but observ'd how " his defign would never be ferv'd by any mea-" fures he could take with England, however it " should be govern'd, resolv'd upon a peace " with Spain, and made it at the Pyrenees."

CROMWELL's influence was so great in France, that the cardinal durst not deny him any thing; which he took very hard, and complain'd of to those he could be free with. He one day made a visit to madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, as she was wont to do, befought him to continue gracious to the churches. Upon which Mazarine told her, "That he knew not how to behave himself. If he advis'd the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threaten'd him to join

ec with

with the Spaniard; and if he shew'd any fawour to them, at Rome they accounted him
an Heretick." 'Twas said, that the cardinal
would change countenance, when he heard Cromwell nam'd; so that it pass'd into a proverb in
France, That he was not so much afraid of the

devil as of Oliver Cromwell.

friendship, as much as France, tho' the latter prevail'd. When the Spanish ambassador was inform'd, that the sleet under Penn and Venables was gone towards the West-Indies, and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, he apply'd himself to the protector, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the king his master; if so, he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. The protector demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the Inquisition: To which the ambassador reply'd, That his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.

THE states of Holland so dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of umbrage: And when at any time the king or his brothers came to fee their fifter, the princess of Orange, within a day or two they us'd to fend a deputation to acquaint them, that Cromwell had oblig'd them to give them no harbour. When king Charles was feeking for a pretext for a war with the Dutch, in 1672, he made this one, That they suffer'd some of his rebellious subjects to live in their country. Borel their ambassador answer'd, That it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their dominions, but to entertain them all, unless they had been guilty of conspiring Ee against

against the persons of princes. The king thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and
his brothers, the ambassador with much simplicity answer'd, Alas Sir, that was another thing:
Cromwell was a great man, and made himself be
fear'd both by land and sea. To which the king
reply'd, I'll make my self be fear'd too in my
turn. But, as is observ'd, he was scarce as good
as his word.

Even the Turks stood in awe of Cromwell, and durst not offend him. And all Italy trembled at his name, and feem'd under a pannick fear as long as he liv'd. When admiral Blake fail'd into the Mediterranean, the city of Rome, and all the pope's territories were greatly alarmed; and the terror of the people was fuch, that publick Processions were made, and the Host was exposed forty hours, to avert the wrath of heaven, and prevent Blake's attacking the dominions of the church. And indeed we are told, that Cromwell us'd to fay, That his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and the found of his Cannon should be heard in Rome. But in the midst of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring defigns.

His magnificent lying in state. I shall now sinish this work with a particular account of the magnificent suneral of this great man. The corps, at least in appearance, was on the 26th of September at night, privately remov'd from Whitehall in a mourning herse, attended by his domestick servants, to Somerset-House. A few days after, his effigy was with great state and magnificence, expos'd openly, multitudes daily slocking to see the fight, which appear'd in this order. The first room was wholly hung with black; at the upper end of which, was plac'd a cloth and chair of state. In like

like manner were the fecond and third rooms. all having scutcheons very thick upon the walls. and guards of partizans for people to pass thro'. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black velvet, the cieling being also cover'd with the same. Here lay the effigy under a noble canopy of black velvet, apparell'd in the most magnificent robes, lac'd with gold, and furr'd with ermines, with a scepter in one hand, and a globe in the other, and a fword hanging by its fide, and a rich cap on the head, suitable to the robes. Behind the head was placed a chair and cushion of tissu'd gold, in which lay an imperial crown, befet with diamonds and other precious stones. The bed of state on which the effigy lay, was cover'd with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a Holland sheet, born up by fix stools cover'd with cloth of gold. The bed was inclos'd with rails and balafters, and, befides folemn mourners, furrounded with banners, banrols, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails flood eight filver candlesticks about five foot high, with white wax tapers standing in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws streamers crowned. The effigy having for fome weeks continued in this posture, on the first of November was remov'd into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was plac'd, standing upon an ascent under a cloth of state, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles fet in flat shining candlesticks, were fo plac'd round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seem'd like the rays of the fun: by all which his late highness was reprefented as now in a state of glory. HAVING E e 2

His pompous funeral.

HAVING remain'd thus till the 23d of November, the waxen effigy of the protector, with the crown on his head, fword by his fide, globe and scepter in his hands, was plac'd in a stately open chariot, cover'd all over with black velvet, and drawn by fix horses cover'd with the same, both chariot and horses being adorn'd with plumes and other ornaments. The streets from Somerset-House to Westminster-Abby, were guarded on both fides of the way by foldiers in new red coats and black buttons, with their enfigns wrapp'd in cypress. The procession was in the following manner: First of all went a marshal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horse-back, to clear the way: After these follow'd the poor men of Westminster by two and two, in mourning gowns and hoods; and next to them, the fervants of those persons of quality that attended the funeral. Then came the protector's late domestick servants, with his bargemen and watermen, follow'd by the fervants of the lord mayor and sheriffs of London; after whom follow'd the gentlemen attendants on foreign ambaffadors and publick ministers. After these march'd the poor knights of Windsor in gowns and hoods; then the clerks, secretaries, and officers of the army, admiralty, treasury, navy, and exchequer; next, the commissioners of the excise, of the army, and committee of the navy. Then march'd the commissioners for approbation of preachers, and behind them, all the officers, messengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and both houses of parliament. Next in order follow'd his late highness's physicians, the head officers of the army, the officers and aldermen of London, the mafters of Chancery, and the protector's council at law; the judges of admiralty, judges in Wales, and master of requests; the barons

barons of the exchequer, judges of both benches, and the lord mayor of London; the persons ally'd in blood to the protector, and the members of the late Other House; the publick ministers of foreign princes, the Dutch ambaffador alone, having his train held up by four gentlemen; then the Portugal ambassador, and the French ambassador in like manner; the lords commissioners of the great feal, the commissioners of the treasury, and his highness's privy-council. These all mov'd in a folemn and pompous procession, each division or company being distinguish'd by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horses. Then came the chariot with the effigy, on each fide of which were fix banrols born by feveral persons; and likewise several pieces of the protector's armour, carry'd by eight officers of the army, attended by the heralds. Next went garter, principal king at arms, attended by a gentleman on each hand bare-headed; and then came the chief mourner: After which follow'd the horse of honour, in very rich trappings embroider'd on crimfon-velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow plumes, being led by the mafter of the horse. The rear of this noble shew was brought up by the protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the Tower, and a troop of horse. The effigy being brought in this manner to the west end of the Abby church, was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the church under a canopy of state up to the east end, where it was plac'd in a most magnificent structure built for that purpose, to remain for a certain time expos'd to publick view.

AFTER all, as the author of the Compleat The place History of England observes in his notes, it re- of his bumains a question, where his body was really bu-rial uncer-

ried:

ried: It was, fays he, in appearance in Westminfter Abby; some report it was carry'd below bridge, and thrown into the Thames; but 'tis most probable that 'twas buried in Naseby Field. This account, continues he, is given, as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occasion requir'd, by Mr. Barkstead, son to Barkstead the regicide, who was about 15 years old at the time of Cromwell's death: "That the faid Barkstead his " father, being lieutenant of the Tower, and a " great confident of Cromwell's, did, among other such considents, in the time of his ill-" ness, defire to know where he would be bu-"ry'd: To which the protector answer'd, Where he had obtain'd the greatest victory and ce glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guess'd where the heat of the action was, viz. in the " field at Naseby, Com' Northampton. Which " accordingly was thus perform'd: At midnight, " foon after his death, the body (being first " embalm'd and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in " a herse convey'd to the said field, Mr. Bark-" flead himself attending, by order of his father, colofe to the herse: Being come to the field, "they found, about the midst of it, a grave dug about nine foot deep, with the green fod " carefully laid on one fide, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put, the er grave was instantly fill'd up, and the green sod " laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that " the furplus mould should be clean remov'd. "Soon after, the like care was taken that the . " field should be entirely plough'd up, and it was fown three or four years fucceffively with " corn." Several other material circumstances, fays the fore-mention'd author, the faid Mr. Barkstead (who now frequents Richard's coffeehouse

house within Temple-Bar) relates, too long to be here inserted.

IT is, I think, pretty certain, that Oliver's corpse was not really interr'd in Westminster abby; and consequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hang'd at Tyburn for his: But whether this account of its being buried in Naseby field, or the other of its being funk in the Thames, is most probable, I cannot fay. What is faid for the former, we have feen; and the other was related by a Gentlewoman who attended Oliver in his last Sickness, as we are told by the Author of the History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart. She told him, that the day after the protector's death, it was confulted how to dispose of his corpfe; when it was concluded, that confidering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would infult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power; to prevent which, it was refolv'd to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and fink it in the deepest part of the Thames; which was undertaken and perform'd by two of his near relations, and some trusty foldiers, the following night.



A

POEM

Upon the Death of

OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector:

Alluding to the Storm that happen'd about that Time.

By Mr. WALLER.



E must resign! heav'n his great foul does claim

In storms as loud as his immortal

His dying groans (his last breath) shake our isle, And trees uncut fall for his sun'ral pile:

About

About his palace their broad roots are tost
Into the air: So Romulus was lost:
New Rome in such a tempest miss'd her king;
And from obeying, fell to worshipping.

On Oeta's top thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him spread;
Those his last sury from the mountain rent:
Our dying hero, from the continent
Ravish'd whole towns, and forts from Spaniards
rest,

As his last legacy to Britain left.

The ocean, which so long our hopes confin'd, Cou'd give no limits to his vaster mind:
Our bounds enlargement was his latest toil;
Nor hath he left us pris'ners to our isle:
Under the tropick is our language spoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke.

From civil broils he did us disengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage:
And, with wise conduct, to his country shew'd
The ancient way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no tears allow

To him that gave us peace and empire too!

Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd to fee

No pitch of glory from the grave is free.

Nature herfelf took notice of his death,

And, fighing, fwell'd the fea with fuch a breath,

That to remotest shores her billows roll'd,

Th' approaching fate of their great ruler told.

APPEN-



APPENDIX,

Containing a more perfect

Account of CROMWELL's Pedigree;

As also some Account of his Children, and of the State of Assairs till the KING's RESTORATION.

THE name of the family from whence the protector was descended, was not originally Cromwell but Williams, Morgan Williams, son and heir of Williams, of a very ancient family in Wales, married the sister of the famous Thomas lord Cromwell, who was made earl of Essex by king Henry VIII. By her he had a son nam'd Richard, who when he grew up was knighted by king Henry, and took the name of his uncle Cromwell, tho' he kept the arms of Williams. He married Frances daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Murfyn; and upon the dissolution of the monasteries, obtain'd all those lands in Huntingtonshire, which belong'd to any

any of them in that county, and which amount. ed to a prodigious value: And this was the first fettling of that family in that county. Of this Sir Richard Cromwell, we have this story. On the 1st of May 1540, there was held a solemn triumph at Westminster before king Henry VIII. by Sir John Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers; which was proclaim'd in France, Spain, Scotland and Flanders: On the fecond day at tournaments, Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew Mr. Palmer off his horse; and on the fifth day at Barryers, he likewise overthrew Mr. Cuspey, to his and the challengers great honour. He had a fon, Sir Henry Cromwell, knighted by queen Elizabeth in the 6th year of her reign. This Sir Henry married Joan daughter and heir of Sir Ralph Warren, and made his chief feat upon the ruins of a house of nuns at Hinchingbrook. He was a very worthy gentleman, and was highly honour'd and belov'd both in court and country. He had fix fons; Oliver, afterwards Sir Oliver, who made that noble entertainment for king James I. mention'd P. 1, 2. of this history; Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip and Ralph. The second fon, Mr. Robert Cromwell, who married the daughter of Sir Richard Steward, was the father of our protector. He was also a gentleman of very good reputation in his country, and was no less esteem'd than any of his ancestors for his personal worth.

THE protector had three sons, Oliver, Richard and Henry. Oliver dy'd young. Richard married Dorothy eldest daughter of Richard Major Esq; of Hursly in Hampshire; where he liv'd a private life during the greatest part of his father's government; but towards the latter end of it he was sent for by him to come to court, and made one of his privy council, and soon after

was chosen by the university of Oxford to be their chancellor, with which honour he was very solemnly install'd at White-hall. He was said to be nominated by his father for his fuccessor, tho' the truth of it was very much question'd; and 'twas thought he never defign'd him for it, having scarce made any step towards training him up to it. However, upon his father's death, he was folemnly proclaim'd protector all over England, &c. in the following form of words: "Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God, " in his providence, to take out of this world " the most serene and renowned Oliver, late lord " protector of this commonwealth: And his high-" ness having in his life-time, according to the " Humble Petition and Advice, declared and ap-" pointed the most noble and illustrious the lord " Richard, eldest son of his said late highness, " to succeed him in the government of these " nations: We therefore of the privy council, " together with the lord mayor, aldermen and " citizens of London, the officers of the army, " and numbers of other principal gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full voice and con-" sent of tongue and heart, publish and declare "the said noble and illustrious lord Richard to " be rightfully protector of this common-wealth " of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the do-" minions and territories thereunto belonging; " to whom we acknowledge all fidelity and con-" stant obedience, according to law, and the " faid Humble Petition and Advice, with all hear-" ty and humble affections, befeeching the Lord, " by whom princes rule, to bless him with long " life, and these nations with peace and happiness under his government."

RICHARD was congratulated hereupon by addresses from all parts of the three kingdoms.

doms, declaring their resolutions to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themfelves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and restore their beloved common-wealth, he found himself necesfitated to call a parliament. A parliament was accordingly fummon'd, which Richard met on the 27th of January, with the same state that the English monarchs and his father had done before him. They had not fat long before great differences and contentions arose between them and the army; so that the officers being inform'd that some votes were pass'd in opposition to their defigns, immediately fent Fleetwood and Desborough to the protector, to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood alledg'd, That if this were not presently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood. Defborough, who was of a rougher temper, told him, 'Twas impossible for him to keep both parliament and army bis friends; and defired bim to chuse which he would prefer: If he dissolv'd the parliament out of hand, he had the army at bis devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the army would quickly pull him out of White-hall. On the other hand, many members affur'd him, that the parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some officers of the army likewise, as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Gough, and Howard, offer'd to fland by him, against those who were call'd the General Council of the army; and Howard in particular earnestly press'd him to exert himself by some vigorous action, such as supported his father's authority to the last: You are Cromwell's son, said he, show your self worthy of that name: This business requires a bold stroke, supported by a good hand; do not suffer your felf felf to be daunted, and my head shall answer for the consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Vane, are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but stand by me, and second my zeal with your name. Richard answer'd, That he did not love blood; and being a man of an irresolute temper, was at last prevail'd on by the

opposite party to dissolve the parliament.

HAVING got rid of the parliament, the

HAVING got rid of the parliament, the council of officers were for laying Richard afide too; and to they restor'd the remnant of the long parliament, which Oliver had ejected, to their feats again; and Richard, after a reign of about feven months and twenty days, return'd to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of White-hall, he order'd his fervants to be very careful of two old trunks, which stood in his wardrobe. The men wonder'd at this; and one of his friends hearing him enquire very earnestly after them, ask'd him what was in them, that made him so much concern'd about them? Why, no less, said Richard, than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England; meaning the numberless addresses that were prefented to him.

THE long parliament having sat about five months, were again put down by the ambitious Lambert; and about three months after were again restor'd, by means of the soldiers revolting from their leaders, and declaring for the parliament, and the interposition of general Monk, who now march'd out of Scotland, and finding the spirit of the people generally run that way, restor'd the secluded members also to their seats again. This made such an alteration in this assembly, that they soon dissolved themselves, having order'd a new parliament to be summon'd; which

which parliament meeting on April 25th 16603 in about a month's time brought in the KING.

THE lord Clarendon tells the following story of Richard Cromwell: That foon after the king's restoration, he found himself under a necessity of retiring into France; and having continu'd fome years in obscurity at Paris, upon the first rumour of a war like to break out between England and France, he thought fit to leave that kingdom, and remove to Geneva. Taking his journey thither by Bourdeaux, and thro' the province of Languedoc, he went thro' Pezenas, a town belonging to the prince of Conti, then governour of Languedoc, who made his refidence there. Staying some time in this place, he happen'd to meet with an old acquaintance of his father's, and his party; who told him, That the prince of Conti expected all strangers who came to that town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the English, with great civility; that be need not be known, but that bimself would inform the prince, that another English gentleman was passing thro the town, who would be glad to have the honour of kissing his hand. The prince, as his manner was, receiv'd him very civilly; and began to discourse with him about the English affairs, asking several questions about the king, and whether all quietly submitted to his government; and in the end faid, Well, that Oliver, tho' he was a traytor and a villain, was a brave man, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb and poltron, was furely the basest fellow alive; what is become of that fool? How was it possible he could be such a sot? He answer'd, That be was betray'd by those he most trusted, and who had been most oblig'd by his father; and so having no great pleasure of his visit, soon took his leave,

and the next morning left the town. And about two days after, the prince came to know that it was Richard himself, whom he had talk'd to after that manner. Richard, some years before the death of king Charles II, return'd to England; and having liv'd, to a great age, as a remarkable example of the security of innocence, and the instability of human greatness, he dy'd at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, in the year 1712.

OLIVE R's third son, Henry, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, and was by his father made lord lieutenant of Ireland; where his deportment render'd him very popular, and he manag'd the government with so much discretion, that in a small time he brought that disorder'd nation into the most hopeful condition of a flourishing state: But being call'd away by the long parliament, upon his brother's submission, he would not offer to resist, but quietly laid down his charge. And thus ended the majesty and glory of the Cromwell samily, which had made not only its own, but all neighbouring nations to tremble.

The protector had four daughters, Bridget, Elizabeth, Mary, and Frances. Bridget was married first to Henry Ireton, whom Cromwell lest his deputy in Ireland, and of whom so much has been said in the former part of this history; and he dying, she was afterwards married to lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Elizabeth was married to Mr. John Claypole, and dy'd a little before her father: Whitelock says, she was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, civil to all persons, and courteous and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance; and that her death did much grieve her father. Mary, his third daughter, was married to Thomas lord viscount

Faucon-

Fauconberg, afterwards created earl by king William: She had the character of a wife and worthy woman, and was thought more likely to have maintain'd the post, than either of her brothers; whence it was commonly said, That those who wore breeches, deserv'd Petticoats better; but if those in Petticoats (meaning her) had been in breeches, they would have held faster. Frances, the youngest daughter, was married first to Mr. Robert Rich, grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick; and afterwards to Sir John Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire: She was also a very worthy person. 'Tis of her that the sollowing story is told, by the author of the History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House

of Stuart:

THAT Mr. Jeremy White, one of Oliver's domestick chaplains, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his court, made his addresses to the faid lady Frances, who did not much disencourage him. But Cromwell being told of it, oblig'd the person who told him to be upon the watch; who hunting Ferry White, as he was commonly call'd, to the lady's chamber, ran immediately to tell the protector of it. Oliver in a rage haftening thither, found Jerry on his knees kiffing the lady's hand, or having just kis'd it; and ask'd him what was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank? White, with much presence of mind, said, May it please your highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore bumbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me. The protector turning to the young woman, said, What's the meaning of this, buffy? Why do you refuse the bonour Mr. White would do you? He is my friend, and I expett you should treat him as such. My lady's woman

man defiring nothing more, answer'd, If Mr. White intends me that bonour, I shall not be against him. Say'st thou so, reply'd Cromwell, call Good-win; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room. Ferry being gone too far to go back, they were married, and the protector gave the young woman 500 %. for her portion; which, with what she had sav'd before, made Mr. White easy in his circumstances, but in one thing, which was, that he never lov'd his wife, nor she him, tho' they liv'd together near fifty years afterwards. The above-mentioned author fays he knew them both, and heard this ftory told when Mrs. White was by, who did not contradict it, but acknowledg'd there was something in it.

FINIS.



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